

*Crusade Texts in Translation*

# **CHRONICLES OF QALĀWŪN AND HIS SON AL-ASHRAF KHALĪL**

Translated by David Cook



# CHRONICLES OF QALĀWŪN AND HIS SON AL-ASHRAF KHALĪL

This volume provides translations of texts on the Mamluk Sultan Qalāwūn (1279–90) and his son al-Malik al-Ashraf (1290–93), which cover the end of the Crusader interlude in the Syrian Levant.

Translated from the original Arabic, these chronicles detail the Mamluk perception of the Crusaders, the Mongol menace, how this menace was confronted, and a wealth of materials about the Mediterranean basin in the late thirteenth century. Treaties, battles, sieges and embassies are all revealed in these chronicles, most of which have not been translated previously.

The translated texts provide a range of historical records concerning Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf, and include the court perspective of Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir, the later biography by his nephew Shafī, and the writings of the Mamluk historian Baybars al-Mansūrī.

**David Cook** is professor of religion at Rice University, US. His areas of specialization include early Islamic history and development, Muslim apocalyptic literature, radical Islam, historical astronomy, and Judeo-Arabic literature. His previous publications include *'The Book of Tribulations': The Syrian Muslim Apocalyptic Tradition: An Annotated Translation by Nu`aym b. Hammad al-Marwazi* (2017).

# CRUSADE TEXTS IN TRANSLATION

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The crusading movement, which originated in the 11th century and lasted beyond the 16th, bequeathed to its future historians a legacy of sources which are unrivalled in their range and variety. These sources document in fascinating detail the motivations and viewpoints, military efforts and spiritual lives, of the participants in the crusades. They also narrate the internal histories of the states and societies which crusaders established or supported in the many regions where they fought. Some of these sources have been translated in the past but the vast majority have been available only in their original language. The goal of this series is to provide a wide-ranging corpus of texts, most of them translated for the first time, which will illuminate the history of the crusades and the crusader-states from every angle, including that of their principal adversaries, the Muslim powers of the Middle East.

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CHRONICLES OF  
QALĀWŪN AND HIS  
SON AL-ASHRAF  
KHALĪL

*Translated by David Cook*



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This translation is mostly a labor of love, as while teaching the Crusades I found I wanted to contribute to the field, even though it is not my primary study. My colleagues at Rice University, Claire Fanger and Brian Ogren, from the Religion Department, aided me with some of the medieval and Jewish connections, Maya Irish in the History Department, with the material about Aragon and Castile. Michael Decker of the University of South Florida helped me out with the Byzantine connections, and Georg Christ of the University of Manchester with the Venetian and Genoese connections. My best friend, Deborah Tor of Notre Dame University, read over the introduction and critiqued it. Thanks to Destiney Randolph, who also read over part of the manuscript and critiqued it, as did Jena Lopez.

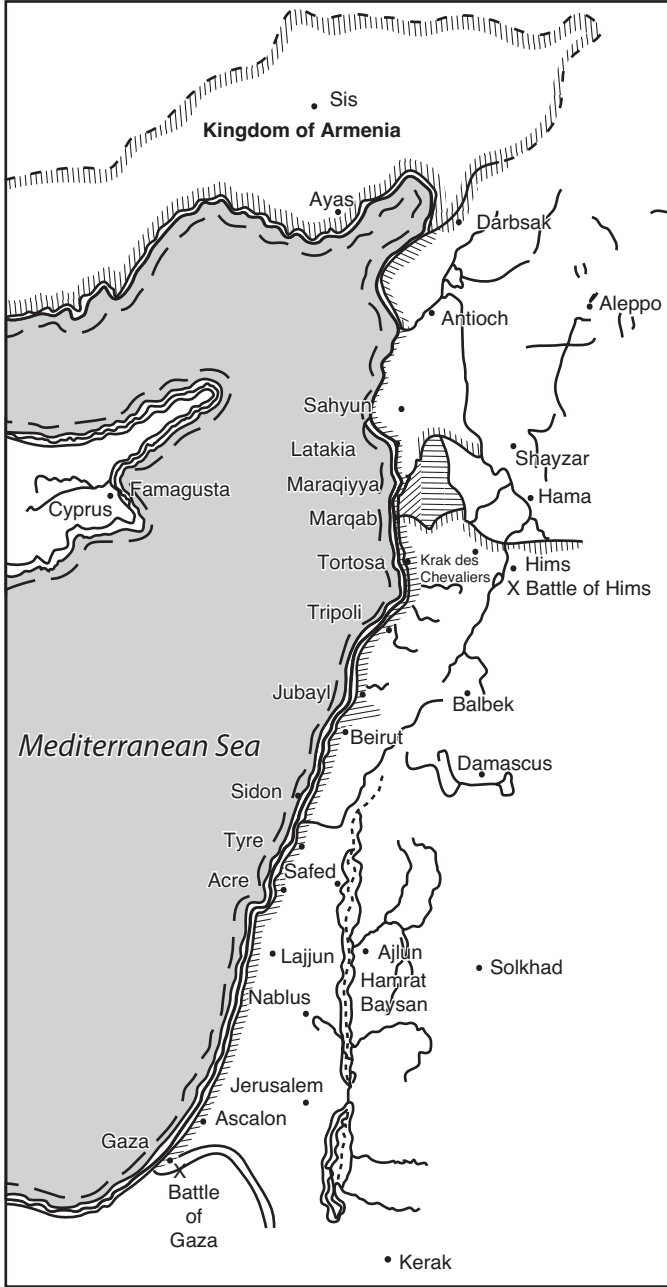
My mother, Elaine Cook, read over parts of the manuscript prior to her death on January 20, 2018, and I would like to dedicate this work to her memory. She very much loved to read about the interconnections of the medieval European and Islamic worlds. May her memory be blessed.

# MAPS



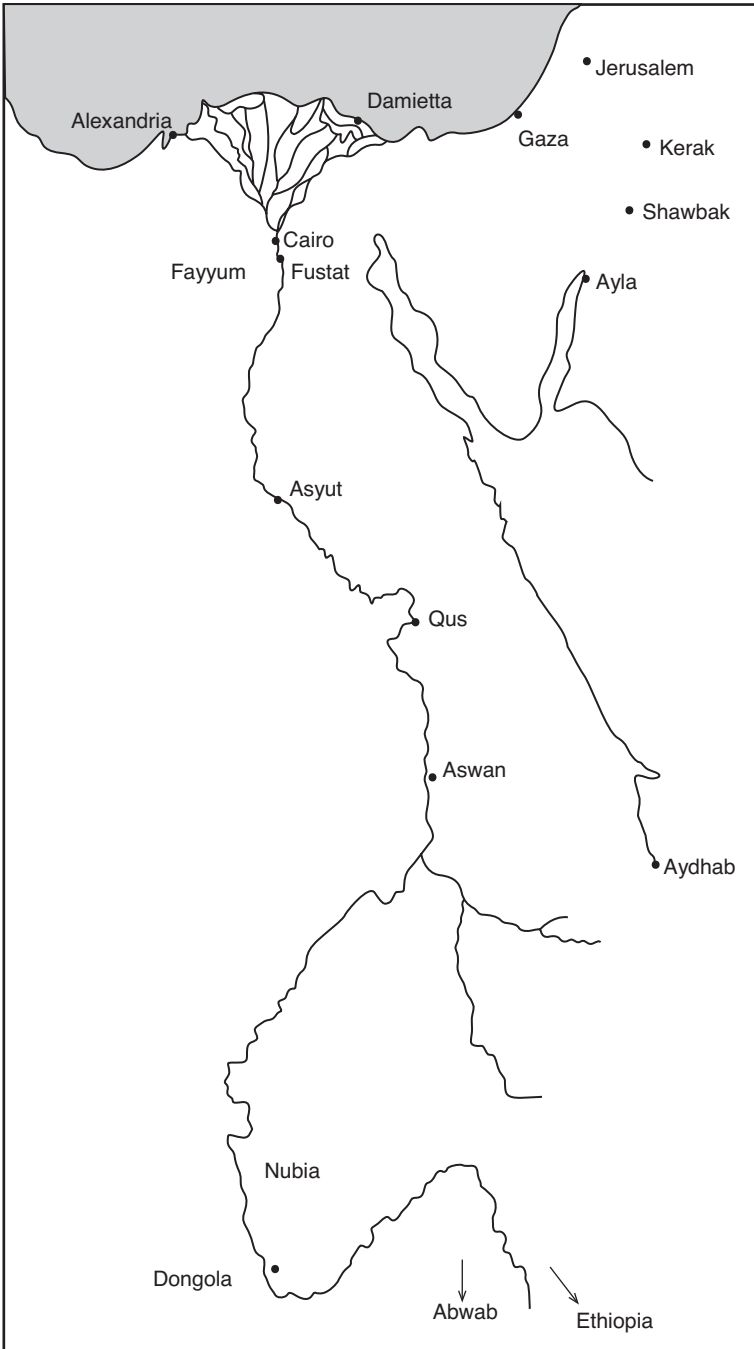
Map 1 The Mediterranean World during the time of Qalāwūn

MAPS



Map 2 The crusader states in the late thirteenth century

MAPS



Map 3 Egypt under Qalāwūn





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# INTRODUCTION

## Late Crusader period: Qalāwūn and al-Malik al-Ashraf

Both Qalāwūn (ruled 678–89/1279–90) and his middle son, al-Malik al-Ashraf (ruled 689–93/1290–3), are central to the history of the Crusades as it was largely due to their efforts that the Crusaders were expelled from the Syrian Levant. Qalāwūn was the seventh Mamluk ruler, and the fourth of the four strong rulers who founded the Mamluk state (the others were Aybak [648–55/1250–57], Quṭuz [657–58/1259–60] and Baybars al-Bunduqdārī [658–76/1260–77]). While Baybars attempted to have his children rule after him—and two of them did—the attempt to make the Mamluk regime hereditary at that time was abortive, most probably because the senior emirs (commanders) viewed the accession of a minor with trepidation. The Mongol menace of the time was simply too serious for an inexperienced youth to be allowed to rule.

However, Qalāwūn succeeded in this endeavor, although his success was not apparent until some 20 years after his death. This occurred when his youngest son, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, ascended to the sultanate for the third time,<sup>1</sup> and became the first truly ruling Mamluk sultan who was not imported as a slave. He was followed by Qalāwūn's grandchildren and even great-grandchildren. Qalāwūn's immediate successor, his middle son, al-Ashraf, attempted to accomplish this feat, but was murdered two and a half years after his father's death.

The lives of Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf are the focus of this translation monograph,<sup>2</sup> with an emphasis upon their role in defeating and expelling the Crusaders. However, for the Mamluks during Qalāwūn's time the Crusaders were no longer a very important priority. Indeed, while the immediate

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<sup>1</sup> See Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (1310–41)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995).

<sup>2</sup> On Qalāwūn, see *Encyclopedia of Islam*<sup>2</sup> (=EI<sup>2</sup>) (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960–2000), s.v. “Qalāwūn” (Hassanein Rabie).

contemporary (and primary) text of Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir,<sup>3</sup> *Tashrīf al-ayyām wa-l-`uṣūr fi sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr* (*Ennobling the Days and the Epochs with Regard to the Life of al-Malik al-Manṣūr*) provides us many details, this attention to detail with regard to the Crusaders for historians falls off sharply during the period to follow. This is true even for events such as the conquest of Tripoli (1289) and Acre (1291) that might objectively be seen as significant to the Mamluks.

This series of translated texts takes the panegyrics of Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir concerning Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf, followed by some selections from Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir's nephew Shaft' b. `Alī's (d. 730/1330) biography of Qalāwūn, which is less laudatory and contemporary to the events it describes. These primary texts will be followed by the almost-contemporary three works of the secretary Baybars al-Manṣūrī. The purpose will be to make available to historians and general readers the hitherto untranslated sources for the finale of the Crusader period in the Levant.

In general, Qalāwūn has received serious and competent treatment by historians. There have been four quality treatments of his reign, and a number of scholars have published valuable studies on side issues. Robert Irwin's *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* gives a concise and competent overview of the reigns of each of the Mamluk sultans in chronological order.<sup>4</sup> The only negative aspect is because it was written so early, prior to the edition of a number of important texts, it is not as in-depth as it could be.

Although P.M. Holt's *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn* is not a biography, it contains so many useful translations and elucidations that it should be viewed as a foundational text for period.<sup>5</sup> I have relied heavily upon Holt for his translations; although there are differences, Holt's readings are always worthy of consideration. Following closely upon Holt, Linda Northrup published a fine biography of Qalāwūn,<sup>6</sup> which was the first that brought together a wide range of sources, and analysis from a number of perspectives, especially concentrating upon economic issues.

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<sup>3</sup> On his life, see Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tā'rikh ḥawādith al-zamān wa-`anbā'ihī wa-wafayāt al-akābir al-a`yān min abnā'ihī* (ed. `Umar `Abd al-Salām Tadmurī, Beirut: al-Maktaba al-`Aṣriyya, 1998), I, pp. 175–83 (emphasizing his poetry); Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* (Beirut: Maktabat al-Ma'ārif, 1990), xiii, p. 334; and al-Ṣafādī, *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt* (Beirut: Dār Iḥya al-Turāth al-`Arabī, n.d.), xvii, pp. 135–55.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* (London and Sydney: CroomHelm, 1986), esp. chap. 4.

<sup>5</sup> P.M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995).

<sup>6</sup> Linda Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria 678–689 A.H./1279–1290 A.D.* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1998).

Paulina Lewicka's edition of Shāfi' b. 'Alī's biography of Qalāwūn mentioned above is preceded by a very in-depth discussion of his life and the issues connected to it.<sup>7</sup> Lewicka's edition is accompanied by a vast array of notes, which are very helpful in understanding not only Shāfi''s text, but also those of the other Mamluk historians.

There has been surprisingly little written on Qalāwūn since 2000, but one book that stands out is Amir Mazor's biographical and prosopographical work on the Manṣūriyya regiment, which was the foundation for his and his descendants' power.<sup>8</sup> In Arabic there have been a great many studies published during the recent past, of varying quality. Beyond these studies, there is a wealth of secondary literature that will be cited in the sources. Rich though these biographies are, they still lack the immediacy and intimacy of a translation. For this reason it is worthwhile to translate a section of the sources concerning Qalāwūn, and highlight the work of Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir.

### Historical context: East and West

From the Mamluk point of view, during the period of the early Sultans (1250–1300) Islam as a whole was under continuous attack. Mamluk official and historical propaganda utilized this fact (or viewpoint) to present the regime as the sole defenders of Islam. Of course the primary focus during this period was the Mongol danger, and this is adequately borne out by the focus in Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir and the other chronicles detailed below. The level of detail given for the Mongols is considerable, while the focus upon the Crusaders, now reduced to about a dozen coastal enclaves, is comparatively minimal.

Perhaps because of the existential nature of the conflict with the Mongols, the Mamluks devoted much diplomatic and espionage effort to understanding their enemy. During the period 1260–80 the Mongols had been on the ascendant. With the Mongol Il-Khan Empire (1260–1335) having close relations to the Great Khans, and the Mongol population a military elite divorced by religion from the majority Muslim population, the Mongols had both strong external support and internal cohesiveness.

However, during the period of Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf the external support and internal cohesiveness were eroding. With the conversion of the Golden Horde Mongols under Berke (d. 1267) to Islam, the Mamluks acquired a possible (sometimes) ally to the north of the Il-Khan Empire, which, if it would

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<sup>7</sup> Paulina Lewicka (ed.), *Šāfi' Ibn 'Alī's Biography of the Mamluk Sultan Qalāwūn* (Warsaw: Academic Publishing House, 2000), section II "Life and Deeds."

<sup>8</sup> Mazor, *The Rise and Fall of a Muslim Regiment: The Manṣūriyya in the First Mamlūk Sultanate (678/1279–741/1341)* (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2015).



not actually provide them with aid, did tend to draw off resources that otherwise could have been utilized against them.<sup>9</sup> The Il-Khanate under Abagha (1265–82) was still a formidable opponent, however, and during Qalāwūn's period launched a full-scale invasion of Syria that ended in their defeat at the Battle of Hims (1281).

Shortly after the death of Abagha, the Il-Khan Empire went through a period of some disorganization under the rule of Tegüder/Aḥmad (1282–4), whose conversion to Islam was not taken seriously by the Mamluks. The tone of Tegüder/Aḥmad's letters found throughout these translated chronicles is a world away from that of the early Mongol missives, and demonstrates weakness in his position. Whether he was actually attempting to achieve some type of peace with the Mamluks is open to question, however, and ultimately is academic because of his short reign.

Under Arghun (1284–91), his successor, the Mongol position in the Il-Khan Empire stabilized somewhat. But no further offensives towards the Mamluks were carried out, and the various Mongol vassal states, such as Armenian Cilicia and the Seljuqs of Anatolia, began to come under Mamluk pressure. Cilicia was the most vulnerable to revenge attacks (as a result of its open support for the 1281 invasion of Syria) by Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf. Cilicia's position immediately to the north of Antioch, taken by Baybars in 1268, made it essential that the mountain-passes linking the two regions were defended by the Armenians against Mamluk incursions.

During the late Crusader period (1279–91) the passes were not adequately defended. Time and again there are descriptions of Mamluk raids coming down into the fertile lowlands of Cilicia and devastating them. Unsurprisingly, Leon III's truce with Qalāwūn appears in these texts, as the Armenians did not receive any aid from their Mongol overlords to repel these attacks. During this period Cilicia was not a serious opponent for the Mamluks, but it did represent a weak link in the series of Mongol vassal-states, and was closely linked to the remaining Crusader city-states and to the Kingdom of Cyprus by familial, trade, and religious ties.<sup>10</sup>

The Crusader cities, which by the ascension of Qalāwūn comprised a strip of territory from the Templar fortress of 'Athlīt, just south of Haifa running northwards along the coast, including Acre, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Jubayl, Botrun, and Tripoli, stopped at the Hospitaller fortress of Marqab, just a little to the north of Tortosa. While a few other small castles and towers remained in their possession, the Crusaders had virtually no holdings that were not adjacent to the Mediterranean Sea.

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<sup>9</sup> Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World: From Conquest to Conversion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), chap. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Angus Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks: War and Diplomacy during the Reigns of Het'um II (1289–1307)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001), pp. 53–67.

## INTRODUCTION

For this reason, the Crusaders were more or less vassals of the Mamluks at this time; their existence on sufferance because of their continued importance in trade. Materials in the chronicles support the conclusion that the Mamluks had good intelligence about the goings-on in the Crusader cities, and a reasonable grasp of the politics associated with the Templar and Hospitaller Orders, if not always an exactitude with regard to names.

No amount of secrecy could have concealed the disorganized and disunited state of the Crusaders on the coast. The hodge-podge of treaties signed by Qalāwūn with Acre, the Lady Margaret of Tyre, the Hospitallers and the Templars tells the tale. All of these treaties mandate that the signatories will not help any other entities fight against the Sultan, or render any aid whatsoever to outsiders seeking to attack the Mamluks. It is difficult to see the cities of Tyre and Beirut in particular as independent entities after understanding the agreement stipulations they had made with the Mamluks. In the cities there were semi-independent quarters given over to the commercial interests of the Italian maritime city-states, who regularly committed infractions against the Mamluks. There was no one who spoke for all the Crusaders, who were united only against any outside authority trying to impose order upon them.

Probably the only bright spot among the Crusaders was the Kingdom of Cyprus, ruled during this period by Hugh III (1267–84), and Henry II (1285–1324). For the most part Cyprus was stable, having the long-running wars between the Imperialists and the Ibelins that had dominated the first half of the thirteenth century behind it. From Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir's account, Qalāwūn kept a close eye upon Cyprus, but as the conquest of Acre proved, there was little the Cypriots could do to project force on the Syrian mainland.

The military orders of the Templars and the Hospitallers were not ones to save the day. Both made their own arrangements with Qalāwūn, just as they had with Baybars before him. The Templars demonstrated little aggressiveness during this period; they had not fought heroically against the Mamluks since the siege of Safed in 1266. Templar resistance at the siege of Acre in 1291 was the one exception to this comparative passivity. At least the Hospitallers in their northern stronghold of Marqab demonstrated some fighting spirit, winning the only Crusader victory of this period against the unfortunate emir al-Ṭabbākhī early in Qalāwūn's reign.

By the end of Qalāwūn's reign only the Ismailis, of all the small semi-independent non-Crusader states of Syria, survived, and their independence was severely constricted already during the period of Baybars. The Ismailis are usually referred to within the texts as *al-da`wa* (the mission); only once as al-Ismā`īliyya (in the treaty with Margaret of Montfort, lady of Tyre).<sup>11</sup> They were utilized earlier as assassins, such as against Philip of Montfort,

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<sup>11</sup> Nasseh Ahmad Mirza, *Syrian Ismailism: The Ever Living Line of the Imamate* (Richmond: Curzon, 1997), pp. 65–66.

lord of Tyre (d. 1270), and the unsuccessful attempt against Prince Edward of England (the future Edward I, in 1272), but no assassinations during the period of Qalāwūn are attested, nor do they appear as an identifiable entity in his armies.

North of the Crusaders, the two more distant Mongol vassal states, the Georgian kingdom and the Seljuq Anatolian sultanate, were both in an advanced state of decay. Mostly, the Mamluk texts see the Seljuqs, referred to as the Rūm, as collaborators with the Mongols, even as non-Muslims, and legitimate targets of raids. Both Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw III (1265–84) and his successor, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd III (1284–96), are mentioned in the chronicles. They were both almost the last effective Seljuq rulers.<sup>12</sup> However, during Qalāwūn's and al-Ashraf's lifetimes the Mamluks were not powerful enough to strike at the Seljuqs more than occasionally.

Most interesting is the mention of the Anatolian Turkish delegation, which occurred during the period of al-Ashraf (after 693/1291). This delegation included about a dozen emirs from the small emirates to the west, center, and south of Anatolia, and demonstrates that even at a comparatively early date, the Turks in the region saw the Mamluks as up-and-coming leaders. Thus, Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's treatise on al-Ashraf, while abbreviated, proves to be a welcome addition to the meager historical sources on this region. Only the Ottomans, assuming that they even existed during al-Ashraf's time, are not represented.

The Georgians are much more distant, and with the exception of the curious incident of the so-called Georgian monarch (!)—who was probably actually a nobleman of Demetrius II (1270–89)—said to have been taken prisoner while on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, there is not much interaction with them. However, it is worth noting that Georgians frequently are featured in the armies of both the Mongols and the Mamluks.

Beyond the Georgians, the Mongols of the Golden Horde loomed. Ever since the conversion to Islam of Berke (*ca.* 1255), khan of the Golden Horde, there had consistently been good relations between them and the Mamluks. From the point of view of the Golden Horde, the Mamluks represented Islam, and were a source of Islamic teaching, as well as controlling the way to Mecca for pilgrimage. From the Mamluks' point of view, the Golden Horde was a counter-balance to the menace of the Il-Khan Mongols as well as a possible trade source of boy-slaves to replenish their ranks.

Interest in the doings of the Golden Horde is high throughout the chronicles, although it is fairly selective. There is no interest, for example, in any of the Golden Horde's raiding towards the north or west. There is great interest, however, in the internal politics of the Golden Horde—which khan was

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<sup>12</sup> Claude Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey: The Seldjukid Sultanate of Rum* (trans. P.M. Holt, London: Longman, 2001), chap. 19.

dominant, what was the character of the ruler, and the relative quality of his religiosity (when he was a Muslim). Upon these tenuous characteristics rested a good deal of Mamluk diplomacy, as the latter were acutely aware that communications with the Golden Horde had to be funneled through either the Rūm Seljuqs by land or through the Byzantines by sea.

Briefly after the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261 from the Latin Empire of Constantinople, the Byzantines under Michael VIII Palaeologus (1261–82) were able to regain some of their old luster.<sup>13</sup> This renewed glory lasted for the period of these chronicles, but not for much longer. Michael and his dynasty are referred to throughout the texts as Lascarids, harking back to Theodore I Lascaris (1205–22), the energetic founder of the reconstituted Byzantine Empire in Anatolia after the fall of Constantinople in 1204.

This misnaming, however, should not be construed to mean that the Mamluks did not value the Byzantines. On the contrary, the treaty between Qalāwūn and Michael VIII,<sup>14</sup> and the eulogy about Michael translated in the texts indicate that the Mamluks did value the Byzantine alliance. How much practical aid each side rendered to the other is probably not the point; the fact is that the two realms were too far away from each other to constitute any danger to the other, but abutted mutual enemies, or at least groups that both would like to keep in check. The Mamluk–Byzantine alliance represented two comparatively older realms (seeing the Mamluks as a continuity of the Ayyubids in Egypt) that had a common interest in opposing newer upstarts.

The Mediterranean world of Qalāwūn's time was also in flux, with a fairly significant power vacuum opening up in spring 1282 as result of the Sicilian Vespers and the collapse of part of Charles I of Anjou's erstwhile empire (1266–85).<sup>15</sup> The Vespers revolt severely damaged what until then had seemed to be the dominating Mediterranean empire of Charles of Anjou. Continuing on the tradition of his brother St. Louis IX (1226–70), whose Crusades dominated the 1250s to his death in Tunis, Charles captured Sicily from the Hohenstaufens, and then proceeded to annex or threaten most of the polities around the central and eastern Mediterranean, including a number in Greece, and the Crusaders in the Levant.

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<sup>13</sup> Edmund Fryde, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance (1261–c. 1360)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000), chap. 5; also Donald Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267–1479* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 26f. (covering Michael VIII's victory at Berat in 1281).

<sup>14</sup> Trans. Holt, *Early Mamluk*, pp. 118–28.

<sup>15</sup> Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth Century Europe* (London and New York: Longman, 1998), chaps. 8–9; also idem, *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily 1266–1305* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), esp. pp. 101–10 (neither book mentions Egypt or Qalāwūn or any Muslims other than those in Italy).

Although the period of Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf was mostly after the peak of Charles' imperial ambitions had come to naught, the placement that Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir gives to the issues of Sicily—in tandem with those of the Mongols—is testimony to the importance the Mamluks placed upon intelligence about him and his successors. It is possible that the intriguing anecdote that Sayf al-Dīn Qilij b. 'Abdallāh al-Malikī al-Manšūrī sent on an embassy by Qalāwūn to an unnamed “king of the west” refers to Charles.<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately, there are no firm details, and this embassy could equally have been directed towards Alfonso X of Castile or even be apocryphal.

But the detailed description of the Battle of the Gulf of Naples on June 5, 1284 between Charles of Salerno (Charles of Anjou's son) and the Aragonese is rightly noted by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir as the turning point in this Mediterranean conflict.<sup>17</sup> It is the only European battle described in these texts. After Roger of Lauria's, the Aragonese commander, victory over Charles of Salerno, and the latter's capture, the Angevin period of dominance in the central Mediterranean ended.

Of the four popes who reigned during the period of Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf, Nicholas III (1277–80, born Giovanni Gaetano Orsini), Martin IV (1280–5, born Simon de Brion), Honorius IV (1285–7, born Giacomo Savelli), and Nicholas IV (1288–92, born Girolamo Masci), only Honorius IV is mentioned by name in the texts. Yet, the policies of each of these popes stood behind many of the events in the Mediterranean that were of considerable concern to the early Mamluks. Therefore, it is not surprising that Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir records the death of Martin IV and the ascension of Honorius IV as a crucial event.

Nicholas III, a Roman aristocrat by birth, initiated policies that ultimately led to the downfall of Charles of Anjou's influence in central Italy. He received a letter from the Il-Khan Abagha in 1279, although there is no indication that he did anything with it during the short while he had before his death in 1280.<sup>18</sup> To a large extent, Nicholas' policies were nullified by Martin IV, who was French, and strongly sympathetic to Charles, and obliged him by excommunicating Michael VIII Palaeologus, the Byzantine emperor. Ironically, Martin IV's pro-Angevin policies coincided with the period of the Sicilian Vespers, so Charles was not able to benefit as much from the pope's support as would have been possible otherwise.

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<sup>16</sup> See Ibn al-Furāt (year 689/1291) (trans. separately); and a shorter version in Ibn Abī Hajala, *Sukurdān al-sultān* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khanjī, 2001), pp. 81–2.

<sup>17</sup> For a vivid description, Desclot, *Chronicle of the Reign of King Pedro III of Aragon* (trans. F.L. Crichtlow, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1928), chap. lv.

<sup>18</sup> Karl-Ernst Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu Islamischen und Mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Briefwechsels* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1981), pp. 242–3 (no. 48) dated Nov. 1279.

Honorius IV, another Roman aristocrat, was also pro-French, and more strongly interested in the issue of Sicily than his predecessor,<sup>19</sup> also received a letter from the Il-Khan Arghun in May 1285.<sup>20</sup> Nicholas IV, who was a Franciscan, corresponded quite extensively with Arghun as well.<sup>21</sup> This association with the friars minor, with their many connections throughout the Mongol Empire, is probably key to understanding Nicholas' interest in a new crusade. This crusade, when it arrived in Acre, succeeded in doing nothing but murdering Muslim merchants and locals, and gave Qalāwūn the excuse for organizing the final attack upon the Crusader city states (carried out by al-Ashraf). Crusader spirit was quite dead in the Frankish Levant, which was largely a trading outpost, dominated by the Italian maritime city-states.

Of the three Italian naval powers—Venice, Genoa, and Pisa—that had been the life-line for the Crusader states during the previous 200 years, and the backbone of trade and pilgrimage throughout the Mediterranean basin, two were in decline during this period. Pisa had been decisively defeated at the (sea) Battle of Meloria (1284) by Genoa,<sup>22</sup> and Venice had suffered a series of reverses during the recent past.<sup>23</sup>

Genoa stands both in terms of its comparatively far-flung commercial empire, with colonies in Byzantium, and the Crimea, as well as trading outposts throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Thus, a Genoese alliance with the Mamluks seemed very practical.<sup>24</sup> However, the treaty cited by Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir was brought about Genoan acts of piracy against Mamluk shipping, and it seems likely that there were elements of the Genoan republic who would have chafed under its stringent conditions.<sup>25</sup> It is interesting to note that the treaty is not reproduced in later Mamluk chronicles, and appears to have not

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<sup>19</sup> See Andrea Maria Del Pino (ed.), *Le Bolle di Onorio IV (1285–87) e di Nicola IV (1287–92) ai conventi e all'Ordine dei Servi di Maria* (Rome: Edizioni Studi storici, 1953).

<sup>20</sup> Lupprian, pp. 244–6 (no. 49).

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, pp. 247–79 (nos. 50–56, 58–64 written by Nicholas, no. 57 from Arghun).

<sup>22</sup> See the terse account in Ranieri Sardo, *Cronaca di Pisa* (ed. Ottavio Banti, Rome: Istituto Palazzo Borromini, 1965), p. 47; and the more detailed *Templar of Tyre* (trans. Paul Crawford, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 88–91.

<sup>23</sup> J.J. Norwich, *History of Venice* (New York: Vintage, 1989), pp. 170–3.

<sup>24</sup> A number of works detail these connections, see Steven Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese 958–1528* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), chap. 4; and see the older works of Kinānī, *al-`Alaḳāt bayna Jīnūwā wa-l-sharḳ al-adnā al-Islāmī 1171–1290M/567–690H* (Cairo: al-Ha'ya al-`Āmma, 1981), ii, chap. 5 (covering 567–690/1171–1291), pp. 364–81; and Geo Pistorino, *Genovesi d'Oriente* (Genoa: Civico Istituto Columbiano, 1990), pp. 160f.

<sup>25</sup> Note the mosque in Genoa from this period cited by Kinani, ii, p. 379 from G. Iraldi, "Una moschea a Genova in Eta Barbarescha," *Liguria* 39 (1972), pp. 13–14.

lasted very long. Even during May 1291 the Vivaldi brothers from Genoa were attempting to find a route around Africa to circumvent the Mamluks' trade routes.<sup>26</sup>

Venice was probably the more important of the Italian maritime powers for the future, in spite of its comparatively low point during this period. The description of the Venetian envoys meeting with al-Ashraf after the fall of Acre (text 1 (b)) was, in fact, part of the revival of the Republic's trade empire that was to grow substantially during the following centuries. It is interesting that neither this meeting nor anything about Venice is mentioned in the later chronicles when describing this period.

While the French, other than Charles of Anjou, do not make much of an appearance in these texts, the Iberian kingdoms are prominent: as foes and possible allies of the Mamluks. Qalāwūn was aware that the Iberian Christians were on the ascendant during the decade of the 1280s into the 1290s.<sup>27</sup>

Comparatively speaking, the Castilians, ruled by Alfonso X (1252–84) were of lesser importance, as the Castilian forces were focused mostly against the Granadan Muslims and the Moroccan Marinids. Indeed, the detailed *Chronicle of Alfonso X* does not mention anything about a diplomatic delegation from Qalāwūn,<sup>28</sup> which according to Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir was a waste of time. Alfonso was depressed and indecisive at the time and more concerned by the revolt of his son Sancho than concluding an alliance with the Mamluks. This picture rings true from reading the *Chronicle*; Alfonso's death occurred shortly thereafter. It is not clear what Alfonso, who according to Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir initiated the diplomatic contacts, hoped to achieve by an alliance (or a treaty) with Qalāwūn.

During the period covered by the chronicles, the Aragonese were much more dominant throughout the western and central Mediterranean, a dominance whose foundation was laid by the great Jaime I (1213–76), who conquered the Balearic islands from the Muslims. His successor Pedro III (1276–85) was no less renowned, and was elected king of Sicily in 1282. At the time of his election he was attacking coastal Tunisia.

Although this attack upon Tunisia came to nothing, from the Muslim point of view it demonstrated how easily, given the Christian command of the sea, their territories could be invaded by the Aragonese (and others). Some of

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<sup>26</sup> F.M. Rogers, "The Vivaldi Expedition," *Annual Reports of the Dante Society* 73 (1955), pp. 31–45.

<sup>27</sup> The worry that this caused the North African Muslims is palpable in al-`Azafī's letter to Ya`qūb the Marinid dated 682/1283, see al-Ghāfiqī, *Rasā'il dīwāniyya min Sabta fi al-'ahd al-'Azafī: inshā' Khalaf al-Ghāfiqī al-Qabūwī* (ed. Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb al-Hayla, Rabāt: al-Jāmi`a al-Malikiyya, 2002), pp. 65–74.

<sup>28</sup> *Chronicle of Alfonso X* (trans. Shelby Thacker and José Escobar, Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002), chaps. 74–77.



Qalāwūn's intervention in Tunisian affairs, detailed by both Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir (text 1 (a)) and Baybars al-Manṣūrī (text 4 (a)) was due to the fear of the growing Aragonese power.

Pedro III's eventual successor in Aragon, Alfonso III (1285–91), was apparently not much of a crusader, and much more interested in securing the western Mediterranean. Therefore, he was willing to sign a treaty with Qalāwūn which would divide the Mediterranean between them: Aragon to the west, Mamluks to the east. The only problem was that Mamluk sea-power was comparatively weak, in spite of the best efforts of both Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf. This weakness is reflected in the rather one-sided treaty between al-Ashraf and Jaime II of Aragon from either 1292 or 1293 (text 2).

The non-Mamluk Muslim rulers during the period of Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf are a fairly paltry bunch, so it is not surprising to find that Qalāwūn considered himself to be preeminent among them. In the west, the small Muslim state of Granada, off and on a client-state or a target for Castile (and the Marinids in Morocco as well), was ruled by Muḥammad II, usually called Ibn al-Aḥmar after his ancestor who founded the dynasty. There is no evidence that Qalāwūn paid much attention to the remains of Muslim Spain, and no diplomatic initiatives survive from that region—not surprising given that the Mamluks were attempting an alliance with Castile. For the entire period under question, Muḥammad II was playing off the Castilians against the Marinids, and enjoying a considerable amount of success.<sup>29</sup>

The Marinid Ya`qūb b. `Abd al-Haqq (1258–86) in Morocco was probably the only leader in the Muslim world, if one discounts the Il-Khans as Muslims, whose position could rival Qalāwūn. There are frequent mentions of him in the sources, especially those of Baybars (text 4 (a)), but apparently no diplomatic initiatives directed at him.<sup>30</sup> The Marinids were, however, mostly a land-based power, and located at a considerable distance from Egypt, so perhaps there was no perceived need for an alliance. Qalāwūn obviously sought diplomatic alliances with states that could offset the growth of a Angevin-style central Mediterranean state. Castile fitted that bill, as it bordered Aragon, which was expanding, but the Marinid state did not.

There is no evidence that Qalāwūn or al-Ashraf was in contact with the growing Muslim presence in West Africa. Apparently there was contact at this early date, however, between Mansa Abū Bakr I (d. 1285) or his successor Sakura of Mali and the Marinids, which would herald the

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<sup>29</sup> L.P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain 1250–1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), chap. 10.

<sup>30</sup> Ibn Abi al-Zar`, *al-Dhakhīra al-saniyya fi tā`rīkh al-dawla al-Marīniyya* (Rabāt: Dār al-Manṣūr, 1972), p. 148f.

development of the trans-Saharan trade route during the fourteenth century and beyond.<sup>31</sup>

Tunis was within striking range of Mamluk Egypt, especially by utilizing the Bedouin nomads dwelling in the deserts between the two regions. Tunisia's rulers, `Umar b. Yaḥyā (1282–4), and Yaḥyā III (1285–95) are mentioned in a number of the texts (nos. 1 (a), and 4 (a)) as the targets of attacks initiated by or encouraged by the Mamluks. No Mamluk intervention is mentioned in any of the local Tunisian chronicles.<sup>32</sup> The entire region of Tunisia was severely destabilized by not only these attacks, but the ones initiated by France under Louis IX (who died outside Tunis in 1270), and the occupation of a number of coastal towns and fortresses, such as Jirba and others,<sup>33</sup> by the Aragonese.

To the south of Egypt and the Red Sea area, it is obvious that Qalāwūn, just like Baybars and the Ayyūbids before him, considered this region to one of Egyptian preeminence. The texts translated here detail repeated interventions into the Christian kingdom of Nubia, which was comparatively weak and divided. The purpose of these interventions appears to have been to garner tribute, rather than outright conquest, and at least at this particular time, there does not appear to have been conversion to Islam. The texts portray the Nubian people as being favorable to the Mamluk interventions, although there is no way to know whether that was true. It is possible, however, that the locals had tired of the Nubian monarchs' weak government.

The Muslim polities bordering on the Red Sea gave Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf (and their successors) a great deal of trouble. Foremost was the semi-independent state of Mecca and Medina, at this time dominated by the mercurial Abū Numay,<sup>34</sup> who was a descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad. Mecca and Medina could not be ignored because of the centrality of the pilgrimage to these holy cities. As the Ayyūbids before them had secured the safety of the pilgrimage route, it was necessary for the Mamluks to do no less, especially because their political and religious legitimacy was based upon their defense of Islam.

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<sup>31</sup> Farīd `Abd al-Rashīd Muhandīs, *al-`Alaḳāt bayna al-dawla al-Marīmiyya wa-mamlakat Malī al-Islāmiyya* (Cairo: al-Maktab al-`Arabī li-l-Ma`ārif, 2017), pp. 93, 4221, 491; and see P.F. de Moraes Farias, *Arabic Medieval Inscriptions from the Republic of Mali* (Oxford: British Academy, 2003), pp. 161, 163 (nos. 189, from 672/1273, 191, from 677/1278) both have the title of *ḥājīj*, so it is probable that they both passed through Egypt on their way to Mecca.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. al-Zarkashī, *Tā`rīkh al-dawlatayn al-Muwahḥidiyya wa-l-Ḥafsiyya* (Damascus: Dār al-`Arab, 2016), pp. 36–43; Ibn Abī al-Dīnār, *al-Mu`nis fi akhbār Ifrīqiyyā wa-Tūnis* (Tunis: Mu`assasat al-Sa`īdān, 1993), pp. 160–4.

<sup>33</sup> Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Jirbī, *`Ulamā` Jirba* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1998), pp. 44, 49.

<sup>34</sup> See Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-warā` bi-akhbār Umm al-Qurā* (ed. Fuhaym Muḥammad Shaltūt, Mecca: Jāmi`at Umm al-Qurā, 2013), iii, pp. 109–24.

Abū Numay resented his dependence upon the Mamluks, and sought to demonstrate that he was his own man. Although Qalāwūn was not able to keep him in check, by the time of al-Ashraf he ran out of options, and was forced to throw himself at the sultan's mercy. However, in the long run, the crafty Abū Numay continued to cause problems for the later Mamluks.

Further to the south, the Rasulid state in Yemen was just consolidating itself under its ruler, al-Malik al-Muzaffar (646–96/1249–95), who also turned out to be the most potent ruler of the dynasty.<sup>35</sup> Rasulid chronicles mention Qalāwūn infrequently and al-Ashraf not at all, but the mentions of the Yemeni delegations to Egypt in texts 1 (a), and 4 (a) below ring true, even to the extent that Muzaffar is said to have asked for a safe conduct from them to be written on a shirt. There was no real Mamluk control in Yemen (in spite of Qalāwūn's occasional description of himself as ruler of Yemen), but there was considerable influence as a result of the trade towards the Red Sea and India. As trade was of major importance to Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf, they wished to secure the route through the Bab al-Mandeb.

In India, the Ghiyathid dynasty of Balaban (664–85/1266–87) and his grandson, Kay Kubādh b. Bughra Khan (685–8/1287–90) reigning in Delhi at this time are poorly attested from a historical perspective.<sup>36</sup> There does not appear to have been any real contact between the Mamluks and the Ghiyathids. For the most part, the India described is south India, where the Muslim were merchants rather than rulers.

It is striking how many of the Muslim dynasties at this time were unstable or constituted new polities. Clearly, the destruction wreaked by the Mongols, the Christian advances in the west, and the conversion to Islam in Africa and south Asia, had created openings for new dynasties.

Two further groups of peoples mentioned in the chronicles remain to be discussed: those who were neither friends nor enemies, which were Ethiopia and Sri Lanka (Ceylon), and non-state groups, such as the Jews, the Bedouin, and the Turkmen. The materials on Ethiopia are interesting and unique, consisting as they do of a letter from the emperor Yekunno Amlak (1270–85), who was noted for having constituted (or reconstituted) the Solomonic dynasty, bringing the Zegwe dynasty to an end.<sup>37</sup> Inside text 1 (a) the

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<sup>35</sup> See Muḥammad b. Ḥātim al-Hamdānī (d. ca. 694/1295), *al-Simṭ al-ghālī al-thamān fī akhbār mulūk al-Ghuzz bi-l-Yamān* (ed. G.R. Smith, London: Luzac, 1974), p. 530f.; `Alī b. Ḥasan al-Khazrajī, *al-`Uqūd al-lu'lu'iyya fī tā'rikh al-dawla al-Rasūliyya* (ed. Muḥammad `Asal, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d. [reprint of London: Luzac, 1913]), i, pp. 219–69 (Qalāwūn is not mentioned in this selection, but is in a poem from a later period, ii, p. 282).

<sup>36</sup> Peter Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Military History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 49–82.

<sup>37</sup> For his role, see *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* (ed. Alessandro Bausi, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014), v, pp. 43–46 (Denis Nonsitsin and Marie-Laure Derat).

letter Yekunno Amlak sent to Qalāwūn in order to establish Ethiopian claims to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem is reproduced, and some historical material about him is given. However, it is significant that none of the later chronicles cite this letter, although there appears to have been contact with Amlak's successor, Yagba Seyon (1285–94).<sup>38</sup>

There is even less information about the two Sri Lankan rulers Buvanekabahu (1270–83), and Parakramabahu III (1283–93), one of whom presumably is the otherwise mysterious Abū Bakhbā listed in Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's account (which is followed in text 4 (a)). Since the trading envoys from this ruler arrived in 1283, and Buvanekabahu could perhaps be rendered down to the Arabic Abū Bakhbā, he is the more likely choice. We should not be surprised that he wanted to encourage trade, and probably wanted to expand the markets for Sri Lankan high-end items (all listed in the account) beyond what was available in the Il-Khan Empire.<sup>39</sup>

Trading connections were important to the Jews in Egypt, as is detailed by the materials in the Cairo Geniza.<sup>40</sup> It is rather surprising, given the importance of trade throughout these translated texts, that Jews hardly make an appearance. (It is worth noting, however, that the Coptic Christians of Egypt, who at this time would have been a substantial minority, if not close to a majority, are also almost invisible in these texts.<sup>41</sup>) In Egypt and Syria, Jews are mentioned briefly as figures malevolent to Muslims.

Bedouin also are somewhat sinister to the mostly city-based chroniclers of Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf. Their principal utility was their fighting qualities, which were useful against the Mongols and the Crusaders, and even against other Muslims, such as the Tunisians. The Bedouin leaders were the only apparent non-Mamluk group in the sources that had an emir commanding them. In general, however, the Bedouin were seen as pests, inimical to trade, attacking the pilgrimage caravan, and generally making a nuisance.<sup>42</sup> This was all the more true of the Turkmen, a group not

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., v, pp. 11–12 (Denis Nosnitsin).

<sup>39</sup> Note that a "Moor" by the name of Kadirayana is said to have landed in Sri Lanka at this time for trading purposes: *The Rajavaliya: A Comprehensive Account of the Rulers of Sri Lanka* (trans. A.V. Suraweera, Colombo: Vijitha Yapa, 2014), p. 70.

<sup>40</sup> Most recently by Shlomo Dov Goitein and Mordechai Friedman, *India Traders of the Middle Ages: Documents from the Cairo Geniza's "India Book."* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2011), which, however, does not cover the period under discussion.

<sup>41</sup> The *History of the Coptic Patriarchs of Egypt* of Severus Ibn al-Muqaffa' unfortunately is no help here, as its sections for the early Mamluk period are extremely sparse.

<sup>42</sup> Note al-Maqrīzī's treatise on the Bedouin of Egypt (from a slightly later period) in his *Rasā'il* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 2006), *Bayān wa-l-i'rāb 'ammā fī arḍ Miṣr min qabā'il al-A'rāb*, pp. 123–54.

adequately defined by the sources,<sup>43</sup> except with regard to being utilized as auxiliaries when fighting the Mongols or the Crusaders. The Bedouin and the Turkmen were in the van (front) at the Battle of Ḥims, on the right and the left flanks respectively.

The period of Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf had an abundance of smaller states, and other than the Il-Khan Empire, a comparative dearth of larger states. For this reason, continuing the general strategies of Baybars, the Mamluks attempted to swallow up as many of these smaller states as possible.

### **Qalāwūn and Ibn `Abd Zāhir: Pharaoh and panegyrist**

From deep antiquity one of the natural imperatives of a ruler of Egypt has been to dominate Syria–Palestine, expand the traditional boundaries of Egypt along the Nile River valley to the region of the Euphrates River, and to dominate the Nubian/Sudanese section of the Nile. Both of those imperatives are present in the strategic priorities of Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf, as they were also in those of Baybars before them. An Egyptian ruler, from time immemorial, as part of his sacral function also had to ensure the inundation of the Nile, care for agriculture, build magnificent buildings, and above all, ensure that any wars were fought on non-Egyptian soil. Qalāwūn's career in these regards can be usefully compared to those of other successful Egyptian rulers, such as Thutmose III, Ramses II, Ptolemy II, or even the Fatimid conqueror, Jawhar al-Siqillī.

Starting out, Qalāwūn's position was not an enviable one. His base in Egypt was reasonably secure, but in Syria he faced a series of small states or city-states, and local rulers who were reluctant to swear allegiance to him and eager for independence. From Egypt's point of view, going all the way back to Pharaonic times, Syria usually looked like a chaotic, divided place. This perception was also true during early Mamluk times. Qalāwūn's overall strategy dealing with this chaos seems to have been to conciliate the smaller states and rulers, picking them off one at a time, and use the Mongol threat to unite Syria behind him.

Fortunately, the Mongols quickly obliged Qalāwūn by carrying out a large-scale attack early in his reign, so that the latter could build upon his undoubted popularity subsequent to victory to construct the Mamluk state. The smaller semi-independent states, notably those of Baybars' children in Kerak and southern Jordan, as well as that of Sunqur *al-ashqar* in northern Syria obliged him as well, by consistently thinking small, and mostly holing up in their fortresses rather than uniting against Qalāwūn or trying to turn his emirs against him.

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<sup>43</sup> See *EI*<sup>2</sup> s.v. "Turkman" (Barbara Kellner-Heinkelle) "term for Turkic tribes" and further definitions.

While this strategy seems fairly obvious in retrospect, it was not always clear that Qalawun thought things through. Our closest source, Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir, was not privy to the private counsel sessions of the Sultan, and appears on a number of occasions, even when he was personally present, to have been genuinely surprised at the direction the Sultan took (e.g., the attack on the Hospitallers in Marqab in 1285). It stands to reason that a scribal functionary like Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir was not privy to such sensitive information since Qalāwūn probably did not speak Arabic well,<sup>44</sup> and most likely discussed secret matters in Turkish.

When chaos reigned in Syria, which was true for most of Qalāwūn's reign, then he appears to have had an opportunistic strategy. Having more or less decisively defeated the Mongol incursion in 1281, he appears to have valued first of all securing the valley of Syria up to the border with the Armenians, and then removing the smaller Mamluk statelets (Kerak and the Syrian fortresses controlled by Sunqur *al-ashqar*), finally picking off Crusader fortresses as the opportunities presented themselves.

Was Qalāwūn biased towards certain Crusader factions and against others? He appears to have played the Templars against the Hospitallers, as he made a treaty with the former, but picked off the latter's castles one by one. It does not appear that he had an overall strategy of finishing off the Crusader presence in the Levant until the very last years of his life. In general, the castles and cities he took during his first years were those which either aided the Mongols in some way or were close to the more sensitive northern region of Syria. He does not appear to have cared that the Crusaders controlled the region between Acre and Tripoli until 1289.

Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir's works fulfill all the criteria of the historical Egyptian panegyric.<sup>45</sup> There is virtually not a single negative word about Qalāwūn or al-Ashraf in either of them. Lewicka states about Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir: "Due to the author's servility towards the ruler, however, his record is not fully objective."<sup>46</sup> In Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir's presentation, the Sultan is portrayed as a

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<sup>44</sup> Northrup, p. 67 (note. 14); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira* (ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-`Ilmiyya, 1992), vi, p. 276.

<sup>45</sup> Comparing his work to those panegyrics of Thutmose III in Miriam Lichtheim (trans.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), ii (The New Kingdom), pp. 29–38; and al-Balawī's *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn*; it would be possible to compare the Syrian situation of Qalāwūn's time to that of the El-Amarna letters during that of Akhenaten. Even the Battle of Qadesh fought by Ramses II in 1274 B.C.E. could be compared to the Battle of Ḥimṣ in 1281 C.E., as both were narrow victories over Syrian coalitions (plus outsiders) fought on battlefields not so far distant from each other, that served to consolidate long-term Egyptian hegemony in the region.

<sup>46</sup> Lewicka, p. 112.

wise, compassionate, a paternalistic ruler, who cares for his people, rides his emirs hard—while favoring those who are loyal and competent—and emphasizing his religiosity. Qalāwūn, according to both Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir, and the other Mamluk biographers and historians, was in fact Joseph/Yūsuf, and it is not surprising that Qur`ān *sūra* 12, his story, is cited more than any other (a total of 11 times) in these texts.

The Joseph/Yūsuf story works well for Qalāwūn, who similarly to the Qur`ānic Yūsuf, was said to have been physically attractive (Q12:31). Presumably Qalāwūn's family sold him into slavery, like Joseph/Yūsuf (Gen. 37:25–8, Q12:19–20). He was brought to Egypt at an early age, inducted into the households of the elite, and he quickly became a favorite. Descriptions of Qalāwūn's management of Egypt's agricultural produce might also be harking back to this theme as well, as the biblical/qur`ānic Joseph/Yūsuf stored up produce for the prophesied seven years of famine.

Beyond this religious backstory, the Sultan needed to be omniscient. This appears to be the function of the many descriptions of “reports,” that are continually said to be flowing into the hands of the Sultan. This feature is designed to emphasize that everything, sooner or later, will be known to the Sultan, including arcane knowledge of foreign rulers such as the Mongols. People needed reassurance that the Sultan knew what was going on in the world. Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir provides exact times for how long information takes to reach the Sultan—which most probably serves to emphasize the inevitability of his knowledge.

These distances also serve to emphasize the presentation that the Sultan is the center of the universe. Byzantines, Mongols, Armenians, Franks, Arabs, Indians, Ethiopians, Nubians, North Africans, Aragonese, French, and Italians all seek his favor. They are regularly described as “waiting at his gates” in order to emphasize their servility to his power and their awe at his majesty. Treaties with him inevitably describe him as “our master, the Sultan,” a phrase that does not usually appear with regard to Qalāwūn or al-Ashraf in chronicles beyond the time-period of those who knew him personally—a period that ends with Baybars al-Manṣūrī.

Bernard Lewis wrote that for the most part Muslims were not interested in the affairs of non-Muslims westerners during the pre-Ottoman era, or even aware of them.<sup>47</sup> Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir appears to be very much the exception to this rule, if it is a rule. In sharp contrast to chroniclers of later periods, including his own nephew, Shāfi` b. `Alī (text 3), Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir gave a substantial number of personal names, both accurate and anecdotal information about the Crusaders, the Byzantines and the western Christian nations, and estimates concerning their abilities and limitations. This view was an

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<sup>47</sup> Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York: Norton, 1982), pp. 148–50.



immediate one, and did not transcend Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir's lifetime, appearing in none of the later chronicles.

Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir's text as it now stands does not constitute a biography of Qalāwūn. Rather, it is a series of biographical notes, disjointed anecdotes, and is apparently relating to specific time-periods when the author was either present or privy to information. There are numerous gaps, either because of the fragmentary nature of the manuscript—all of Qalāwūn's first three years are missing—as well as gaps in the later chronology. The entire text is best seen as a series of vignettes with Qalāwūn as the star figure.

The unique features of Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir, however, are amazing. Holt already has mined his extensive citation of treaty documents. There are a number of other unique documents that appear in the text, such as correspondence with the Mongols, the Ethiopians, the ruler of Sri Lanka/Ceylon, and others. Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir provides the view from the center (which is wherever the Sultan was physically located), and a sense of the stakes involved in a given situation at any one time. How the center was feeling about the Mongol menace, nuisance of the Crusaders, the importance of trade, and that the Mamluk Empire was the lynchpin to the Muslim world.

One problematic issue is the question of succession, always a fraught one for a ruler, but sometimes no less for a panegyrist. It would seem that Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir was a supporter of Qalāwūn's elder son, al-Malik al-Šāliḥ, and perhaps wrote parts of his work in order to legitimize his upcoming rule.<sup>48</sup> When al-Šāliḥ died early (in 1288), Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir seems to have fallen out of favor (or perhaps was ill), and therefore his material on the last two years of Qalāwūn's life is lacking. This is a great pity, because during this lacunae the siege of Tripoli occurred.

If this theory is correct, then why was the panegyric to al-Malik al-Ashraf (text 1 (b)) composed? Al-Ashraf was one of several would-be successors to ruling Mamluks, who aspired to their fathers' positions. None of these survived very long until the period of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (709–42/1309–41), and even he had to endure several periods of rule (when he was a child) before his power stabilized. It is clear that Qalāwūn had significant doubts about al-Ashraf's ability to succeed him.<sup>49</sup> What is not clear is the source of those doubts: Were they ones that Qalāwūn felt personally, or were they ones communicated to him by courtiers, perhaps including Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir himself? The fact that the *Tashrīf* does not appear to have been "cleaned up" in order to give al-Ashraf a higher profile in retrospect does perhaps increase our confidence that it more or less dates from Qalāwūn's lifetime.

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<sup>48</sup> Note Ibn al-Furāt, year 680/1281 how Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir wrote al-Šāliḥ's investiture as heir apparent. al-Šafadī, *al-Wāfi*, xxi, pp. 259–60 states that Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir composed multiple books (*kutub*) concerning al-Šāliḥ.

<sup>49</sup> Northrup, pp. 143, 247; Lewicka, pp. 419–20 note 8.



Therefore, the panegyric to al-Ashraf (text 1 (b)) may have been Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir's attempt to curry favor with a ruler he had not previously supported, or it may have been written out of loyalty to Qalāwūn, who Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir clearly adulated. Whatever the reason, just like the *Tashrif*, the panegyric is fragmentary and lacks some of the sections that we could wish it did, such as a detailed account of the capture of Acre. Its principal point appears to have been to legitimize the shaky rule of al-Ashraf,

Because he made his conquests—of Acre and of Qal'at al-Rūm—the mainstay of his legitimacy, it is not clear why details of them were not included. As this was the very end of Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir's life, perhaps the panegyric is merely a series of notes—as it lacks a cogent beginning and ending—that were meant to be fleshed out at another time, or perhaps he did not feel comfortable writing about events he had not personally witnessed. Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir died in 691/1292, a year before al-Ashraf.

### Al-Ashraf and the historians

The attitude of historians towards Qalāwūn's middle son and successor, al-Malik al-Ashraf, is rather polarized.<sup>50</sup> On one hand, it is possible to see him as the unworthy son of a great father, who succeeded because of his father's accomplishments and completed his unfinished work. This work included important conquests such as that of Acre and Qal'at al-Rūm which rounded out the Mamluk frontiers in a way that neither Baybars al-Bunduqdārī nor Qalāwūn were able to complete.

Another more petulant interpretation is that al-Ashraf cleaned up after Qalāwūn, and did his dirty work. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī describes him as killing a number of emirs. Even sympathetic chroniclers, such as Baybars al-Manṣūrī, note how he systematically killed or exiled those to whom his father showed clemency, such as Sunqur *al-ashqar* or the sons of Baybars, and others. Where Qalāwūn was clement, al-Ashraf tended to be capricious. (One practical reason for Qalāwūn's clemency might have been his shortage of men in the face of the Mongol menace; however this was also true with regard to al-Ashraf.)

Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir's treatise on al-Ashraf, as previously noted, has been understudied. It portrays al-Ashraf through the eyes of Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir in his failing years, and is exclusively focused upon affairs taking place in Egypt or upon citation of documents. This is in contradistinction to the other portrayals of al-Ashraf, which usually dwell upon his conquests, almost all of which happened in Syria and beyond. The texts on al-Ashraf

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<sup>50</sup> Some like al-Marjānī (d. 770/1368–9), *Bahjat al-nufūs wa-l-asrār* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb, 2002), i, pp. 494–5 skip him entirely.

cite not a single treaty and very few documents (only Baydara's *waqf*, untranslated, in text 1 (b)).<sup>51</sup>

What is not clear is the picture Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir is trying to paint with the treatise. His is the only work in this entire anthology to focus extensively upon the `Abbāsīd caliph (who inside text 1 (b) remains unnamed), citing as he does several Friday sermons delivered by him during the middle of al-Ashraf's reign. Probably this unusually high profile for the caliph is supposed to legitimize al-Ashraf, whose rule commenced with his father questioning his abilities to rule and refusing to sign his investiture, in addition to his inexperience and youth. Other descriptions in Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir's text emphasize his justice, adherence to Islamic law, and charitable munificence.

Additionally, Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir uniquely among all the chroniclers noticed that al-Ashraf had a very strong interest in the sea, describing as he does the Venetian envoys appearing in the wake of Acre being conquered. More importantly, Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir gives us a picture of the Mamluk fleet exercises. These fleet exercises are not mentioned in any other source and raise questions about al-Ashraf's long-term priorities. Having secured Syria from the Crusaders, was he thinking of Mediterranean conquest at that time? Or was he merely aware of the fact that Cyprus and the Italian maritime powers could still attack Egypt and Syria—as indeed they did throughout the following 70 some years—and it was necessary to be prepared?<sup>52</sup>

Muslim historical sources do not mention the treaty of friendship he concluded with Jaime II of Aragon in Jan. 1293.<sup>53</sup> It is interesting that this, if the treaty dates are accurate, would have been almost exactly a year after the fleet exercises documented by Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir for Feb. 1292. Perhaps al-Ashraf was considering a Mediterranean adventure? Or did he fear a new crusade to recover Acre?

Yet other descriptions of al-Ashraf detail his love of pleasure and especially of hunting,<sup>54</sup> during the latter of which he was murdered. (One should note that Shāfi` in text 3 lauds Qalāwūn for *not* hunting or ever visiting Alexandria.) These descriptions are common throughout the chronicles on

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<sup>51</sup> *Chronicle of Amadi* (trans. Nicholas Coureas and Peter Edbury, Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2015), p. 216 cites a letter from al-Ashraf to the Master of the Temple just prior to the attack on Acre in 1291.

<sup>52</sup> Albrecht Fuess, "Rotting Ships and Razed Harbors: The Naval Policy of the Mamluks," *Mamluk Studies Review* 5 (2001), pp. 45–71, at p. 273 (mentioning al-Ashraf's naval initiative) (= Susan Rose [ed.], *Medieval Ships and Warfare* [Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008], no. 18, pp. 267–97).

<sup>53</sup> Trans. text 2.

<sup>54</sup> Ibn Manklī, *Uns al-malāfī wahsh al-falā* (ed. Muḥammad `Īsā Šāliḥiyya, Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1993), p. 77 tells about al-Ashraf hunting recklessly when he was assassinated, even without a sword.

al-Ashraf, in addition to appearing in Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir, and probably serve to emphasize his manliness and energy, but could also be a bit of a warning against indulgence. After all, one could say that it was due to this excessive hunting that he was distracted from the administration of Egypt, which led directly to his assassination.

Al-Ashraf definitely lacked the naturally conciliatory and clement side of Qalāwūn, and appears to have liked to dress down the Mamluk elite, such as Baydarā, his deputy and assassin, in semi-public situations. For such a military elite, insults and curses of this type would have been intolerable and may have led to the conspiracy that was fatal to him.

However, the proximate context of al-Ashraf's assassination was even less favorable to him, as it involved his minister Ibn al-Sal'ūs discovering financial irregularities linking Baydarā (his assassin) to wholesale fraud. This type of fraud during al-Ashraf's reign indicates a ruler detached from administration, and being used as a figurehead by more powerful emirs. When their fraud was in danger of being uncovered, it is understandable that they sought to protect themselves by assassinating the sultan.

Few of the historical works on Qalāwūn and his period seem to have considered the role of al-Ashraf's assassination in solidifying the support behind his dynasty. For his assassins, there was a brief victory, but only until Qalāwūn's third son, al-Malik al-Nāşir, became an adult. Much like the assassination of Julius Caesar led directly to the fall of the Roman Republic, the assassination of al-Ashraf because of fear of exposure appears to have been significant in the success of Qalāwūn and his dynasty.

### Other historical and literary works covering this period

One cannot say that the Mamluk period lacks historical attestation. Due to world histories, local chronicles, supplements to chronicles, collections of obituaries, travelers' accounts, fragments of papyri and other original literary documents, coins, and inscriptions, in addition to non-historical literary works, the period is well-attested.

However, there are curious lacunae, and the period of the end of the Crusades is one of them. Although there are many historical sources, they do not always provide the level of detail desired. These sources can be divided into several categories, for the most part (but not always), corresponding to chronological sequence.

The first group includes Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir (d. 691/1292) and those who were contemporary and intimate with Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf. These are the Anatolian historian and hagiographer Ibn Bībī (d. 683/1285),<sup>55</sup> the

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<sup>55</sup> Ibn Bībī, *El-Avamiru'l ala'iyye fi'umur'il `ala'iyye* (Ankara: Turk Tariḥ Kurumu, 1956), pp. 735–43 (period of Qalāwūn, but not mentioning him).

Christian pro-Mongol Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286),<sup>56</sup> pseudo-Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (finished 700/1300), and Ibn al-Mughayzil (d. 701/1301),<sup>57</sup> who was the continuator of the Ayyūbid historian Ibn Wāṣil (d. 697/1297).<sup>58</sup> The first two are problematic, as they are both inclined to be biased against the Mamluks, and were physically distant from them. None of them concentrate upon the later Crusaders in any case.

Pseudo-Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's *Kitāb al-ḥawādith* is an important contemporary corrective to the hagiography of the Mamluk historians,<sup>59</sup> as he was writing from Baghdad under the Mongols. The anonymous chronicler reveals himself to be primarily interested in Baghdad and central Iraq; he makes virtually no mention of the larger Mongol Empire or even the Iranian and Central Asian sections of the Il-Khan Empire. However, he does describe Qalāwūn, at first with little respect, calling him Alfi (which also some of the Armenian and Crusader chroniclers did as well), but increasingly with approval. When Tripoli and Acre are conquered, he cites some triumphant poetry. He also appears to have admired al-Ashraf, dedicating a fairly lengthy poem in praise of him.

Ibn al-Mughayzil is different; he was pro-Mamluk in a general sense, but was the court historian for the rump Ayyūbid dynasty of Ḥamāh that is so frequently mentioned in Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir (text 1 (a)) below. While he gives us a more sympathetic viewpoint of Qalāwūn, he does so from Syria rather than Egypt. By merely reading his materials one might get the mistaken impression that the two Malik al-Manṣūrs (Qalāwūn and Muḥammad, the ruler of Ḥamāh) were actually on the same level, as Qalāwūn is often referred to as "the ruler of Egypt" (with the implication: not of Syria). His perspective is local: for example, he appears to be one of the few who preserved Qalāwūn's letter on the conquest of Tripoli,<sup>60</sup> which is not surprising, given the close proximity between Ḥamāh and the coastlands.

A second group of sources includes those who were near contemporaries of Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf. These include Ibn al-Dawadari (d. 713/1313),<sup>61</sup> who gives very little detail, the Persian vizier Rashid al-Dīn (d. 718/1318), the encyclopedist al-Nuwayrī (d. 723/1323–4), who wrote the most complete

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<sup>56</sup> Gregorius Ibn al-'Ibrī, *Tā'rikh mukhtaṣar al-duwwal* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1997), pp. 252–7 for the Mongol-Mamluk correspondence; a version is also given in Ibn al-'Ajamī, *Kunūz al-dhahab fī tā'rikh Ḥalab* (Aleppo: Dār al-Qalam al-'Arabī, 1996), i, pp. 621–5 (partial).

<sup>57</sup> Ibn al-Mughayzil, *Dhayl Mufarrij al-kurūb fi akhbār banī Ayyūb* (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-'Aṣriyya, 2004), pp. 94–139.

<sup>58</sup> Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb fi akhbār banī Ayyūb* till 661/1262–3.

<sup>59</sup> Pseudo-Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Kitāb al-ḥawādith* (eds. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf and 'Imād 'Abd al-Salām Rā'ūf, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1997), pp. 452–512.

<sup>60</sup> Ibn al-Mughayzil, pp. 121–23.

<sup>61</sup> Ibn al-Dawādārī, *al-Juz al-thāmin: al-Durra al-zākīyya fi al-dawla al-Turkiyya* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1971), pp. 231–310.

biography of Qalāwūn,<sup>62</sup> and Baybars al-Manṣūrī (d. 725/1325), whose three works on the period are invaluable for the historian,<sup>63</sup> and will be translated as text(s) no. 4, with their importance discussed at that point. Al-Nuwayrī contains a great deal of interesting material about Egypt and Syria, but virtually nothing unique about the wars against the Mongols and the Crusaders. Baybars especially in his largest world-chronicle, the *Zubdat al-fikra fī tā'rīkh al-hijra*, parallels the text of Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir, and enables historians to fill in missing material. All of his texts contain invaluable personal reminiscences and details.

One should note the limitations of Baybars. From his repeated notices of the Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir family, it is clear that he had a good deal of respect for their work and was not inclined to be critical of them. His frequent interpolations are a bit annoying and self-promoting. Additionally, Baybars' intellectual horizons were not those of Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir. He has little of the latter's intricate material on European politics, and while he includes much material that touches upon the Crusaders, unlike Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir, they are not portrayed intimately. They were an enemy that was not going to convert to Islam, and by the time of his writing were mostly destroyed (except for Cyprus), and are not given prominence.

His portraits of the Crusaders should be compared to the detailed descriptions of the various aspects of the Mongol Empire. These are not merely the Mamluks' enemies, the Il-Khans, but also the Golden Horde, and even notices of Qubilai Khan, and his conflicts with his cousin Qaidu. All of these are much more important than the events taking place in Europe or even in Cyprus, which are geographically closer. For Baybars, the boundary of Islam vs. unbelief was extremely strong.

Baybars' closest rival historian was Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311), whose rather abbreviated *Akhbār-i Muḡhulān* gives an intimate and sympathetic portrait of the Mongols, and is quite frank about their military shortcomings with regard to the Mamluks.<sup>64</sup> But he gives few details.

The Il-Khan vizier Rashīd al-Dīn's intellectual horizons were immeasurably broader than those of Baybars or Quṭb al-Dīn. As both a political figure (ex. 718/1318) and a scholar, it was his job to exalt his Mongol patrons, which he

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<sup>62</sup> Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-irab fi funūn al-adab* (eds. Muḥīd Qamiha and Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-`Ilmiyya, 2004), xxxi, pp. 3–165.

<sup>63</sup> See his larger *Zubdat al-fikra fi tā'rīkh al-hijra* (ed. D.S. Richards, Berlin: Orient Institute, 1998); *al-Tuḥfa al-mulūkiyya fī al-dawla al-Turkiyya* (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya al-Lubnāniyya, 1987), and his smaller *Mukhtār al-akhbār: tā'rīkh al-dawla al-Ayyūbiyya wa-dawlat al-Mamālīk al-baḥriyya hattā sanat 702* (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya al-Lubnāniyya, 1993).

<sup>64</sup> Shīrāzī, *Akhbār-i Muḡhulan* (ed. Iraj Afshar, Qum: Maktabat Ayatullāh al-Uzmā al-Mar'ashī, 2010), pp. 50–66, trans. George Lane, *The Mongols in Iran* (London: Routledge, 2018), pp. 63–75.

did in the best tradition of al-Juwaynī and others. In his *Jāmi` al-tawārīkh* sections on Europe he provides good coverage, including a detailed list of the popes, and other rulers, as well in other books materials on India, Turks, various Mongol states, on top of the obligatory descriptions of Persian dynasties.

His coverage of the Mamluks, by contrast, is much weaker. None of his books are dedicated to the Mamluk dynasty or to Egypt *per se*. While he cannot help, during the course of his descriptions of the Mongol conquests, describing the key battles with the Mamluks, he never provides a systematic treatment of the rulers, as he does to other regions, or even a listing of them. His coverage of the Mongol defeat at the Battle of Ḥimṣ, for example, is quite abbreviated. Again, this is in fairly sharp contrast to the treatment of Ibn al-Fuwaṭī above, who covered roughly the same time-period, but focused much more upon Syria.

A somewhat later section of this category are those historians who wrote during the rule of Qalāwūn's family, during the middle 1300s, who sometimes personally participated in the battles with the Crusaders as youngsters, but were not close to power at that time. al-Yūnīnī's (d. 726/1326) continuation of al-Sibt Ibn al-Jawzī's (d. 654/1256) world history falls into this category, it provides a wealth of documents, but few personal accounts.<sup>65</sup> Through the history of Qalāwūn, he is almost never mentioned by name until the capture of Tripoli.

Al-Shāfi` b. `Alī (d. 730/1330), Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir's nephew, whose biography of Qalāwūn is partially translated as text no. 3, and the world historian Abū al-Fidā' (d. 732/1331)<sup>66</sup> make up for al-Yūnīnī's lack of personal accounts: al-Shafī' knew Qalāwūn personally, and Abū al-Fidā' participated in the conquests of Marqab and Tripoli (as a boy). Shafī' 's laudatory portrait of Qalāwūn, when taken together with the work of the other members of the Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir family, has tended to cement their hold over Mamluk historical recollection of him. It is beneficial to use other sources not dependent upon this family in order to round out a portrait of both Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf.

The work of the Aleppan Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī (d. ca. 779/1377–8), which includes a monumental history of Qalāwūn and his sons,<sup>67</sup> as well as a history of the Turkish Mamluk dynasty, is something of a disappointment. Although the perspective he has, as a Syrian (not necessarily located at the Cairene

<sup>65</sup> Al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl mirā't al-zamān* (ed. Ḥamza `Abbās, Abū Dhabī: al-Majma` al-Thaqafī, 2007), x, pp. 13–193.

<sup>66</sup> Abū al-Fidā', *Al-Mukhtaṣar fi akhbār al-bashar* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-`Ilmiyya, 1997), ii, pp. 345–66; trans. P.M. Holt, *The Memoirs of a Syrian Prince, Abū al-Fidā', Sultan of Ḥamāh (672–732/1273–1331)* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1983), pp. 12–22.

<sup>67</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī, *Tadhkirat al-nabīh fī ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-banīhi* (ed. Muḥammad Amīn, Cairo: al-Ha'ya al-Miṣriyya, 1976–86), i, pp. 48–174.

center of events), is a refreshing one, for the Crusader period he adds very little that is new, other than the circular on the capture of Tripoli.<sup>68</sup> His treatment of the capture of Marqab from the Hospitallers in 1285, for example, does not even mention the identity of the enemy.

By the middle of the 1300s, however, the material cited is mostly repetitive: Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 738/1337–8),<sup>69</sup> whose account of the capture of Acre is mostly taken from al-Yūnīnī, but emphasizes the religious aspects of fighting more; Ibn al-ʿAssāl (d. 742/1341),<sup>70</sup> whose material as a Christian is a bit different, but unfortunately has a gap during the middle of Qalāwūn's reign (skipping from years 682/1283 to 689/1290); Ibn Faḍlallāh (d. 749/1349),<sup>71</sup> who cites directly from Abū al-Fidā' and gives a good deal of detail. al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347), in his great history of the Muslim world, *Tā'rikh al-Islām*,<sup>72</sup> gives us virtually nothing new. The same is true for Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1348–9), who follows Abū al-Fidā',<sup>73</sup> Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī (d. 764/1363),<sup>74</sup> al-Yāfi'ī (d. 768/1366–7),<sup>75</sup> and Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1372–3).<sup>76</sup> Ibn Kathīr and the biographer al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), however, are among the few historians who list a later Crusader figure in their obituaries—the last prince of Antioch, Bohemond VI (1251–75).<sup>77</sup> Al-Ṣafadī especially provides a great deal of material about the individual emirs.

Although this period was dominated by the son, grandsons, and great-grandsons of Qalāwūn, who ruled until 784/1382, apparently on a popular level the memory of Qalāwūn's accomplishments diminished. Already

<sup>68</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī, *Durrat al-islāk fi dawlat al-atrāk* (ed. Muḥammad Amīn, Cairo: Maktabat Dār al-Wathā'iq al-Qawmiyya, 2014), i, pp. 313–455, ii, pp. 7–85 (circular on Tripoli on pp. 44–5).

<sup>69</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tā'rikh ḥawādith al-zamān*, i, pp. 42–52.

<sup>70</sup> Ibn al-ʿAssāl, *al-Nahj al-sa'īd wa-l-durr al-farīd fī-mā ba'da tā'rikh Ibn al-ʿAmīd* (Damascus: Dar Sa'd al-Dīn, 2017), pp. 255–300. For the siege of Acre, he cites Baybars.

<sup>71</sup> Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* (ed. ʿAbdallāh Yahyā al-Surayhī, Abū Dhabī: al-Majma' al-Thaqafī, 2003), xxvii, pp. 427–63.

<sup>72</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Tā'rikh al-Islām* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 2000), vols. li, lii.

<sup>73</sup> Ibn al-Wardī, *Tā'rikh Ibn al-Wardī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1996), ii, pp. 220–30.

<sup>74</sup> Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *ʿUyūn al-tawārikh ʿaṣr al-salāṭīn al-Mamālik* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Wathā'iq al-Qawmiyya, 2017), ii, pp. 303–545; on p. 447 he gives three lines to the capture of Marqab.

<sup>75</sup> Al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt al-jīnan wa-ʿibrat al-yaqẓān* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1997), iv, pp. 142–66.

<sup>76</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, xiii, pp. 288–338; see trans. *From the Beginning to the End* (Karachi: Dar ul-Ishaat, 2014), iv, pp. 104–14 (substandard trans.).

<sup>77</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, x, p. 228 (no. 2522, trans. below); Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xiii, p. 269; Sir Guy of Jubayl is also mentioned in al-Yūnīnī, xix, pp. 21–14.



in the 1330s, Ibn Battūta (d. 779/1377–8, but traveling in Syria in 726/1326) noted that Baybars al-Bunduqdārī was assumed to have been the one who conquered Tripoli.<sup>78</sup> That such misinformation would be current in the city of Tripoli only two generations after its conquest is testimony to the growth of the Baybars legend during this period.

A third category are the later Mamluk historians. Most of these writers use the early Mamluk period's accomplishments in order to critique the failures of the later Mamluks of the 1400s. There is little sense of detail with regard to the Mamluks' opponents, and most accounts are derivative. One who stands out is Ibn al-Furāt (d. 808/1405), who not only bucks this trend, but gives specific names, and a great deal of detail and documents, including material (possibly) from the missing parts of Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir, but mostly from his contemporary Ibn al-Mukarram. His account is translated separately as its own chronicle, and some of the characteristics of his writing are detailed in the introduction there.<sup>79</sup>

The world historian Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) cites Ibn al-Furāt, but while he gives details of the Battle of Ḥimṣ against the Mongols, skips the taking of Marqab, and gives minimal material on the capture of Tripoli. The secretary al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) gives us a great many documents from the period of Qalāwūn, including ones that did not survive in earlier sources, the most important of which have been translated by Holt.

One has to say that the greatest of all Mamluk historians, al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1441–2), is the most disappointing. While his account is full of dates, and gives a chronographic exposition, virtually all the intimate details conveyed in earlier sources are absent from it.<sup>80</sup> No details concerning Europe are present in his account. Similarly with al-`Aynī (d. 855/1451), another great world historian, who merely cites previous authors (although this is useful for checking missing details in earlier sources),<sup>81</sup> and adds nothing new, as does Ibn Taghribirdī (d. 874/1469–70),<sup>82</sup> who is very Egypt-centered in his presentation, and al-Suyūfī (d. 911/1505), who uniquely cites Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir by name (though with reference to his biography of Baybars).<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Ibn Battūta, *Tuhfat al-nazzār* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-`Ilmiyya, n.d.), p. 85 (using the word *rūm* for the Crusaders); trans. H.A.R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta* (eds. C. Defremery and B. Sanguinetti, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958–2000), i, p. 88.

<sup>79</sup> Ibn al-Furāt, *Tā`rīkh* (ed. Constantine Zurayk, Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, 1936–42), vols. 7 and 8.

<sup>80</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk fi duwal al-mulūk* (Ed. Muḥammad `Abd al-Qādir `Atā', Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-`Ilmiyya, 1997), ii, pp. 131–218.

<sup>81</sup> Al-`Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān fī tā`rīkh ahl al-zamān* (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-`Āmma, 1990), ii, pp. 225–391, iii, pp. 1–135.

<sup>82</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, vii, pp. 248–325, viii, pp. 3–34.

<sup>83</sup> Al-Suyūfī, *Tā`rīkh al-khulafā'* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 2000), p. 442.



It is surprising how many details later Arabic and non-Arabic chroniclers list of this period, sometimes even rivaling the details given by the later Mamluk historians. Prominent ones are the Persian historians Mīrkhvand (d. 903/1498),<sup>84</sup> Khvandamīr (d. 942/1535?),<sup>85</sup> who lists Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf, and gives a comparatively detailed account of the conquest of Acre, and Tattavi (d. 996/1588),<sup>86</sup> while the late Arab world historian al-Diyārbakrī (d. 966/1558-9), who gives a reasonable description of the Battle of Ḥimṣ in 1281, does not mention the Crusaders at all.<sup>87</sup>

The local Syrian historian Ibn Sabāṭ (d. 926/1520), cites Abū al-Fidā', but also gives some unique Arabic tribal materials. For example, he wrote that the Bedouin tribe of Banū Tanūkh were loyal to their alliance with the Crusaders even at the very end of their occupation of Syria.<sup>88</sup> Local Christian historians such as the Maronite Iṣṭafān al-Duwayhī (d. 1704) are able to supply some details about the local Christian community's relations with the last Crusaders.<sup>89</sup>

With the great chronicler and diarist Ibn Iyyās (d. 931/1524), it is interesting that by the 1500s, the Franks are not mentioned at all during the description of Qalāwūn's reign. Although the individual sieges of Marqab, Tripoli, and Acre are featured, they are not differentiated from the sieges of Kerak and Ṣahyūn; in no place are the enemies said to have been Frankish.<sup>90</sup> Ottoman chroniclers usually mention Qalāwūn positively:<sup>91</sup> the anonymous Ottoman eleventh/seventeenth century history of the Crusades *Al-ʿIlām wa-l-tabyīn*, while brief, accords Qalāwūn the honor of having expelled the Crusaders, while completely ignoring al-Ashraf.<sup>92</sup> Sometimes in later Ottoman works Qalāwūn receives the credit for all of al-Ashraf's conquests; Ibn Abī al-Surūr

<sup>84</sup> Mīrkhvand, *Rawḏat al-ṣafā* (ed. Jamshid Kiyanfar, Tehran: Asatir, 2001), viii, pp. 4123-4 (Qalāwūn), 4134f. (detailed accounts of Aḥmad/Tegüder and Arghūn).

<sup>85</sup> Khvandamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* (ed. Dabir Siyaqi, Tehran: Kitābforūshī-yi Khiyām, 1983), iii, pp. 257-9.

<sup>86</sup> Tattavī, *Tā'riḫ-i Alfī* (ed. ʿAli Al Davud, Tehran: Kulbeh, 1999), vi, pp. 3218-32.

<sup>87</sup> Al-Diyārbakrī, *Tā'riḫ al-khamīs* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.), ii, pp. 379-80.

<sup>88</sup> Ibn Sabāṭ, *Ṣidq al-akḥbār* (Tripoli: Jurus Bris, 1993), i, p. 483.

<sup>89</sup> Iṣṭafān al-Duwayhi, *Tā'riḫ al-azmīna* (ed. Butros Fahd, Beirut: Maktabat Dār al-Laḥd, n.d. [1976]), pp. 258-68.

<sup>90</sup> Ibn Iyyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr fī waqā'i' al-duhūr* (ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1975), i:1, pp. 347-64.

<sup>91</sup> Ḥajjī Khalifa Katip Çelebi (d. 1067/1657), *Takvimu l-tevarih* (ed. Semiha Nurdan, Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu, 2009), 49b, 50a-b (listing Qalāwūn, but passing over al-Ashraf); Evliya Çelebi (d. 1093/1682?), *Sehayatnamasi* (eds. Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yucel Dagli, Robert Dankoff, et al., Istanbul: Yapi Kredi, 1999-2002), ix, pp. 203-9 (describing Tripoli, and Qalāwūn conquering it), x, *passim* (on Egypt).

<sup>92</sup> *Al-ʿIlām wa-l-tabyīn fī khurūj al-Faranj al-malā'īn ʿalā diyār al-Muslimīn* (ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Damascus: Maktabat Dār al-Mallāḥ, 1981), pp. 105-6 (conquests of both Tripoli and Acre are described briefly, but accurately).

(d. 1071/1661) lists Tripoli, Acre, Sidon and Beirut as his conquests, when, in fact, he conquered Tripoli alone of that number.<sup>93</sup>

The contemporary works are too many to list, but one that stands out is that of Sayyid `Alī al-Ḥarīrī (d. after 1317/1899), who wrote the first modern Arabic history of the Crusades. His presentation of Qalāwūn is very laudatory, and gives him all the credit for the expulsion of the Crusaders. Most of his account is copied word-for-word from Baybars.<sup>94</sup>

There are few surprises in this survey. The earlier sources are the most reliable, and include some personal accounts, although not as many as could have wished. Names and exact details swiftly disappear from the later accounts; what was remembered from Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir's plethora of details about the Franks by later writers was usually his poetry not his prose. The later sources divide as to their interpretations of the Crusaders, polemical relation to the Mamluks, or attitude toward Qalāwūn personally in some cases, or as to how they want to present the overall flow of Muslim history.

Taking all of these sources together, it is possible to learn much of the period of Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf. While one could wish that there had been more of a local source-base available, especially for the Crusader finale, the sources do provide a wealth of original documents and letters. Some of these letters are bombastic and not terribly informative, and many cover the conquests not with prose but by poetry, but there is still a great deal of material. Thanks to this multiplicity of sources, we are able to view Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf from a variety of viewpoints. There are, however, many basic questions that the sources do not answer for us.

### **What we can learn from the chronicles, and what is obscure**

Muslim sources, especially those of the Mamluk period, have their limitations. These are especially glaring when one is aware of the Muslim Arabic and Farsi tradition of historical writing during the period until the Mongol conquest. Mamluk historiography is considerably less broadminded, and tends to be very ruler and capital-city focused. It pays especially heavy attention to obituaries, sometimes to the point where histories are little more than an excuse to list off those prominent people who have died during a given year.

Because of the increased profile of religious scholars during this period, where the Mamluks relied heavily upon those scholars for their own political and religious legitimacy, religious figures are privileged over secular ones. Due to the viewpoint that the Mamluks were the sole preservers of Islam and Islamic learning, there was an increased interest in vast encyclopedias that purported to

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<sup>93</sup> Ibn Abī al-Surūr, *al-Nuzha al-zāhiyya fī dhikr wulāt Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira al-mu`izziyya* (ed. `Abd al-Razzāq `Īsā, Cairo: al-`Arabī, 1998), pp. 107–8.

<sup>94</sup> Sayyid `Alī al-Ḥarīrī, *al-Akhhbār al-saniyya fī tā`rīkh al-ḥurūb al-Ṣalībiyya* (Cairo: al-`Ayn, 2017), pp. 270–4, at p. 272.

convey all useful knowledge. While these are incredibly interesting and valuable, they do obscure the fact that there is a great deal left out of them.

From a methodological point of view, most of the above historians subscribed to a cyclical view of history, and are interested in noting curious coincidences, or emphasizing rhetorical flourishes over simply relating what happened. Although the circulars sent out in the wake of major conquests are sometimes interesting, at least for their ideological focus, they are usually quite bombastic, and written in a rhymed style that is difficult to translate, and convey little useful information.

Above all, the Mamluk period lacks in the critical mass of other source-bases available to test, confirm and disconfirm the Muslim historical material. The Jewish Cairo Geniza materials do not continue deep into the Mamluk period, which is greatly to be regretted, as they had supplied an invaluable control for earlier periods, especially for economic and social history. During the later Crusader period there are few non-Muslim travelers who have left their travelogues for us, until the period of Ibn Battuta (starting in 725/1325). After the fall of Acre there was a boycott mandated by the papacy which lasted almost a century,<sup>95</sup> although the boycott was never very effective and the popes issued licenses to circumvent their prohibition. Western pilgrims were visiting the Holy Land by the 1330s but we continue to have little sense from outsiders' accounts of what was happening in Egypt or Syria.<sup>96</sup>

### *Economic basis*

The historical texts translated are not concerned with economic history.<sup>97</sup> Most of what we can learn of this vital subject is incidental. Treaties and lists of items to be obtained in tribute are our major source for the weaknesses in the Mamluk economy. These weaknesses were slaves (for the next generation of Mamluks), iron, especially for nails and horseshoes, and wood,<sup>98</sup> for the

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<sup>95</sup> Jean Richard, "Le Royaume de Chypre et l'embargo sur le commerce avec l'Égypte," in *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* (Paris, 1984), pp. 120–34, at p. 121.

<sup>96</sup> See list in Eugene Hoade (ed.), *Western Pilgrims* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1952 (reprint)), pp. 89–95.

<sup>97</sup> For a good survey, see Northrup, chaps. 10–12; and especially Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Practising Diplomacy in the Mamluk Sultanate: Gifts and Material Culture in the Medieval Islamic World* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), pp. 135, 139, 153, 160; also 'Abd al-Fattāh Rajab Ḥamad, *al-Tijāra fī Miṣr wa-l-Shām fī dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Ulā (648–784/1250–1382)* (Cairo: al-Maktab al-'Arabī al-Ḥadīth, 2011), 3rd section (dealing with trade routes).

<sup>98</sup> Note Symon Semeonis (traveling 1320s), *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis ab Hybernia ad Terram Sanctam* (ed. and trans. Mario Esposito, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1960), p. 71; and the stipulations in the treaty with Jaime II of Aragon (text 2), listing iron and wood.

construction of ships and other war implements like mangonels. It appears that Qalāwūn did not feel much pressure for precious metals, unlike Europe of that time.

For purely trading purposes, we can start with geography. Caravans traveling from Armenia to Seljuq Rūm transported sugar, soap, pistachios, lead, and cotton. From Egypt, fabrics and cloth are consistently listed, so it is clear that such products were a mainstay of the economy. The sheer number and variety of different types of fabrics and clothing, many of which are unidentifiable, itself tells us that cloth and fabric production was a major basis for the Mediterranean economy. Sugarcane is mentioned in the treaty of Tyre.<sup>99</sup> Together with wood products it was hoarded by the unfortunate Taqī al-Dīn Tawba, whose goods were confiscated in 1289. But important products such as glassware from Damascus<sup>100</sup> are not mentioned at all. There were caravans going between Baghdad and Damascus; one is attested for 682/1283, but there is no mention of what it contained.<sup>101</sup>

Most intriguing is the description of one Mūsā b. al-Shawbakī, with the nickname of al-ʿAfīf, a Christian (who the historian al-Yūnīnī ritually curses), described as “the Sultan’s merchant.” He is said to have worked for the Franks’ interests, and “importing forbidden items.”<sup>102</sup> While al-Yūnīnī’s anti-Christian prejudices get in the way of telling us exactly what it was that he imported, it is clear that it was of a military nature. Several anecdotes about him give us this hint: he would regularly visit with Qalāwūn’s powerful deputy al-Ṭurunṭāy privately, and even senior mamluks such as Lājīn (deputy in Damascus) were kept waiting outside. Leaving no accounts—which annoyed the mamluk administrators—and having continual access to the highest level Mamluks, Mūsā is said to have brought substantial amounts of wealth from the Frankish kings,<sup>103</sup> presumably in return for trading privileges.

Exotica came from Africa and the south, as well as the Indian Ocean. African exotica included elephants, sometimes for war purposes, a giraffe, cheetahs, lions, and a rhinoceros (both the latter from Nubia). Monkeys do not appear to qualify as exotic. For the most part, Mamluk Egypt was a way-station for animals and products that came through it from destinations further to the south and east. In 687/1288 Qalāwūn is said to have sent out letters

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<sup>99</sup> On its importance for the Crusaders, see Tsugitaka Sato, *Sugar in the Social Life of Medieval Islam* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2015), pp. 23, 30.

<sup>100</sup> From Symon, p. 75 (balsam from Egypt, p. 81 also goes unmentioned).

<sup>101</sup> Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, ii, p. 405 (mentioned incidently).

<sup>102</sup> Al-Yūnīnī, xx, pp. 107–8.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

to “Sind, Hind [India], China and Yemen” saying that Egypt wanted to cultivate trade ties.<sup>104</sup> This seems to be a sign that Qalāwūn was thinking in a grandiose manner economically.

One of the more interesting documents inside Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir (cited verbatim also by Baybars in 4 (a)) is the interlude on the Indian Ocean merchants coming from Sri Lanka/Ceylon. The letter from the ruler, presumed to be Buvanekabahu above, specifies possible interest in elephants (perhaps their ivory?), red dye, silk, cinnamon, and gems. It is surprising that spices do not seem to have had a higher profile in this nascent trade. Spears are also mentioned, although why Sri Lankan spears would be prized is a mystery.

However, even more interesting is the circuitous route the merchants take in coming to Egypt. It is not always possible to trace the sites they list, but it appears that they sailed from Ceylon westwards to Oman, and then up the coast to the Persian Gulf coast of Iran, followed the coast with brief trips inland, did a rather complicated route through Khuzistan, and then an even more complicated route through southern Iraq before arriving in Baghdad.

It is not at all clear why this route was chosen by the merchants, or what Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir is trying to demonstrate by including it. The two obvious possibilities for the route are that there was some commodity in which they were trading, most likely pearls (although pearl diving was more closely associated with the southern coast of the Persian Gulf, not the Persian coast), and/or they were seeking to avoid the Mongol authorities by taking such a circuitous route that involved so many small towns and villages (some of which are not identifiable). Probably Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir included it because of its intelligence value, as he appears to have been developing any sources about the Il-Khans that he could. Baybars and al-`Aynī are the major historians which reproduce the itinerary, and both of them have conflicting renditions of the place names.

From the Yemen and the Red Sea area, the envoys brought ambergris, red Indian silk, and Qanā spears.<sup>105</sup> Likely this latter gift was not incidental; from the attitude of the Sri Lankan ruler, we should understand that there was a trade war between the two Indian Ocean regions as to which was going to supply the Mamluks (and the Europeans beyond them) with luxury items from the Orient, and also high-quality weapons. Traditionally, Yemeni swords had a high reputation throughout the Muslim world, and a number of them were by-words (e.g., Mashrafi swords).

<sup>104</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, ii, p. 205 (and see trans. Ibn al-Furāt).

<sup>105</sup> Described by Yāqūt al-Ḥamāwī, *Mu`jam al-buldān* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 2010), s.v., Qanā.

Agriculture was fundamental to the Mamluk economy, but there is little that is not connected to large-scale projects, such as the construction of canals, dams, dikes, etc. Ibn al-Furāt (translated separately) is the most conscientious of all the historians translated of the Nile inundation. He provides a number of measurements about good yearly inundations. Some of the endowments accorded to locations or certain scholars provide a sense of the connection between produce and city life.

Slavery of boys and girls is well described in the chronicles. Treaties and agreements, or even friendship gambits, with non-European states or entities invariably mentioned slaves. None of the treaties with the Crusaders, Genoa, or Aragon mentions this category (although they do have provisions for runaways). But the treaties with the Byzantines and the Armenians do, and the embassies from the Nubians, the Ethiopians, and the Golden Horde all specifically mention slaves as gifts.

One of the most important trades was the basis for the Mamluk Empire itself: the trade in Turkish slave boys. This problem was of critical concern, as the hostility of the Il-Khans blocked the free importation of new Mamluks.<sup>106</sup> The Genoese were the mainstays for this trade, and relied upon their bases in the Crimea, at Caffa, or Sūdāq (mentioned in the treaty with the Byzantines) for supply. To that end, the goodwill of the Mongols of the Golden Horde was vital.<sup>107</sup> Additionally, the way through the Byzantine Empire, transporting the slaves to Syria and Egypt, had to be maintained. It seems obvious that the treaties with the Byzantines and the Genoans, and the frequent embassies to the Golden Horde described in the texts below, were driven by these imperatives.

Overall, the early Mamluks seemed to have been highly realistic and flexible in their trading policies, seeking to maintain as many options as possible, and to play competitors off against each other (Genoa versus Venice, for example). One of the reasons for the delay in expelling the Crusaders was due to their economic usefulness.

Unfortunately, there is nothing like Benjamin of Tudela's thumbnail portrait of the products of prominent cities (from the 1180s), and so we have to pick from the incidental allusions inside the texts. This lacuna in the economic history of the Mamluks can only be overcome by a great deal of reading.

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<sup>106</sup> Andrew Ehrenkreutz, "Strategic Implications of the Slave Trade between Genoa and Mamluc [sic!] Egypt in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century," in A.L. Udovitch (ed.), *The Islamic Middle East, 700–1900: Studies in Economic and Social History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 335–45.

<sup>107</sup> See Virgil Ciociltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2012), pp. 157–63.

*Military tactics and conquests*

It is greatly to be regretted that there are few extant Arabic military treatises from the later thirteenth century, other than that of Ibn al-Rammāh,<sup>108</sup> who does not give many details about the key weapons and siege engines described in the sources below as they were at that time. Of course, there is more material from the fourteenth and especially the fifteenth centuries, but it is difficult to extrapolate backwards.<sup>109</sup> There are a number of military terms which were undergoing rapid transition during this period which are obfuscated by the absence of detail.

For the period of Qalāwūn we have one very in-detail battle, the Battle of Ḥimṣ (October 29, 1281), which occupies a substantial section of most of the texts, and a number of siege accounts. These sieges, some bloodless, of Kakhtā and Qaṭīnā, of Marqab, of Tripoli, of Acre, and of Qal'at al-Rūm, are varied in their descriptions. The descriptions of the first two fortresses are valuable because they are so in-depth, and most probably were described in this manner in order to have a good source available for intelligence purposes in case the Mamluks ended up losing them.

The siege of Marqab, as Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir describes it, is probably his best work. Preparations and advance are all given realistically, down to the point where the men even debate as to where they are headed. The doubts on the Muslim side—because of the minor, but sharp defeat, inflicted upon the Mamluk forces in 1281—are given in a realistic manner and the siege is described with a reasonable level of detail. Although it is doubtful that Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir was physically present at this siege, his sources must have been very close to the action, and the narrative written down quite soon afterwards. It is significant that none of the other authors give anything like this level of attention to the siege of Marqab, of which the fall is usually presented as inevitable (Ibn al-Furāt barely accords it a paragraph).

Such detail is not the case for Tripoli and Acre. While in other sources, such as that of Abū al-Fidā',<sup>110</sup> there are eye-witness accounts of the siege of Tripoli, what we have in both cases is more of a set narrative.

<sup>108</sup> Ḥasan b. Ayyūb al-Rammāh, *Makhzūn arbāb al-funūn fī al-furūsiyya wa-la`b al-rumḥ wa-bunūdiḥā* (ed. `Umar `Abd al-Salām Tadmurī, Beirut: Maktabat al-`Aṣriyya, 2016). Al-Ḥusayn b. `Abd al-Raḥmān al-Yūnīnī (d. 676/1277), *al-Nihāya fī `ilm al-rimāya* (Leiden Or 995 fol. 1–40r) remains unedited.

<sup>109</sup> Full discussion in `Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Nāyil, *Šimā`at al-asliḥa al-thaqīla wa-l-nāriyya fī al-dawla al-Mamlūkiyya* (Riyad: al-Jamī`a al-Tā`rikiyya al-Sa`ūdiyya, 2006), pp. 359f.

<sup>110</sup> See Holt's translation in *Memoirs of a Syrian Prince*, pp. 14–5.



For Tripoli,<sup>111</sup> the accounts follow the pattern: listing the number of man-gonels (between 13 and 19 usually), the fortifications of the city, the final rush, the looting of the city, the escape of the Franks to Palm Island, the pursuit of the Mamluk forces out to the island and the consequent slaughter and captivity that followed. There is no sense of the ups and downs of an actual siege. It is almost an anti-climax when we are told that the siege lasted 34 days (according to Ibn al-Furāt), because one has no sense of time actually passing.

The same is true of the siege of Acre.<sup>112</sup> There are some eye-witness accounts, such as that of Baybars (text 4 (a)), and then of the aftermath. In the standard Acre narrative, the sultan gives the orders to assemble the siege machines in Damascus, there is a listing of all the emirs and allies who participated, then their arrival and setting up the camp, and accompanied usually by a description of the Franks' preparation and fortifications.

There is no indication of what al-Ashraf was doing, or thinking; all the sources appear to have been outside of the sultan's immediate circle. The only visual that we are given is that of Baybars, who tells us that he was the one whose cleverness virtually single-handedly conquered Acre. His descriptions, personal aggrandizement aside, are realistic, but his description once again serves to demonstrate how distant the sultan was. There is no sense of what the army as a whole is doing on land, let alone what happened at sea.

It is interesting that the chronicles are much more detailed about the slaughter, rapine and looting after the fall of Acre, and the holdout of the Templars, and others, than about the siege itself. Capitulations of the other Crusader cities, Tyre, Sidon, and Beirut, however, are given realistically and with a good level of detail. al-Ashraf's conquest of Qal'at al-Rūm is, other than Acre, the center-piece of his conquests, and in the account left by Baybars appears realistic.

Summing up military tactics—although the historical accounts leave much to be desired in terms of intimate detail, and many unanswered questions about various small issues—it is possible to come to some conclusions. Since the time of Baybars al-Bunduqdārī there is no question that the Mamluks had perfected the art of siege. With the exception of the initial failure at Marqab early in Qalāwūn's reign (which was more to punish the Hospitallers than to

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<sup>111</sup> Preliminary discussion in Irwin, "The Mamlūk Conquest of the County of Tripoli," in Peter Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement* (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1985), pp. 246–50 (= Irwin, *Mamlūks and Crusaders: Men of the Sword and Men of the Pen* [Farnham: Ashgate, 2010], #II).

<sup>112</sup> For a survey, see Andreas D'Souza, "The Conquest of Akka (690/1291)," *Muslim World* 80 (1990), pp. 234–50; also Donald Little, "The Fall of Akka in 690/1291: The Muslim Version," in M. Sharon (ed.), *Studies in Islamic History in Honour of Professor David Ayalon* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), pp. 159–82.



actually conquer the fortress), every single fortress besieged by the Mamluks either capitulates or falls violently. Even cities and fortresses abutting the sea, such as those of the Crusaders, or those located in extremely difficult terrain, such as Qaḫīnā and Qalʿat al-Rūm, could not stand up to Mamluk siege tactics during this period.

The Mamluk abilities in open warfare are more in doubt. All of the minor raids, such as those into Nubia, Armenia, and the frontier region of the Il-Khan Empire, are described in the sources as successful. But this is more likely to have been propaganda, and there must have been unrecorded failures to the north against the Mongols. The Battle of Hīmṣ was an absolute victory for the Mamluks, similar in scope to the Battle of ʿAyn Jālūt, but it was clearly a close call. All the sources agree that while both sides defeated parts of the other, it was the Mongol belief that they could relax and loot the Mamluk camp which settled the issue, as the Mamluks did not relax. Even after this point, had there been a Mongol commander with initiative, it is possible that the Mongols could have slain Qalāwūn, as he was virtually unprotected when the victorious Mongol right flank returned to the field, and still have achieved victory.

There is no doubt as to the importance of conquest for the legitimacy of the Mamluks; this importance is apparent all through the historical texts. In all the treaties new conquests are highlighted and listed. It must have been galling for the crusaders to have to see all the territories that were once theirs listed in the treaties in this manner.

It is equally obvious that the final Crusaders were not of critical concern to the Mamluks. Their primary interest was the Mongols, an interest that is reflected in the intense need for information about them, the religious polemics with those Muslim rulers (such as of Mārdīn) who collaborated with them, and the use to which fear of the Mongols was put as a basis for Mamluk political legitimacy.

### *Themes of dynasty and ruling*

Ceremony was important to the Mamluks, and much of the source material deals with court ceremony, presentation of honors to emirs, gifts to delegations and visitors, and wowing the local population through processions.

Symbols of rulership are apparent in the “seat” of the Sultan, which is described as being a *sarīr* (seat), as opposed to the general use of *takht* (throne) by the Mongols.<sup>113</sup> Consistent with later Ottoman practice, the Sultan’s authority is designated by his “gates” (*abwāb*) when he is in a major city—either Cairo or Damascus—or by the “royal tent” (*dihlīz*) of his tent, if he is on the move.

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<sup>113</sup> Al-Ashraf is also said to have been seated on a *takht*.

It is unfortunate there are so few literary portraits of either Qalāwūn's or al-Ashraf's appearance, so we cannot be certain what they were wearing other than on a few official presentations.<sup>114</sup> But their other personal markings, such as flags, and other symbols such as seals are sometimes preserved. The title that is given in the contemporary Mamluk texts is invariably *mawlānā al-sulṭān*, "our master, the sultan," which appears even on treaties signed by other nations or groups. In the Byzantine treaty the phrase is *'izz sulṭānihi* "his mighty sultanate." Mamluk seals and coins from Qalāwūn's period do not appear to be remarkable, other than the note that for a short while his coins appeared with his face on one side, with his predecessor Salāmish's face on the other.<sup>115</sup>

However, the legitimacy conferred upon a ruler by the Friday sermon (*khutba*) is mentioned frequently, especially with regard to al-Ashraf.<sup>116</sup> As previously noted the caliph does not appear in the texts with a few exceptions, and even then merely as one of the court retinue. There does not seem to have been any effort by Qalāwūn to utilize him for legitimacy.

Public proclamations, and circular letters were quite important for presenting the ruler's achievements. Proclamations, such as the investiture of al-Malik al-Šāliḥ, detail the ruler's philosophy and self-perception. It appears that any theme that might be useful was used. For example, it is quite startling to find that al-Šāliḥ, whose given name was `Alī, received a number of aphorisms that were originally directed at the fourth caliph (and imam of the Shi'ites), `Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, such as the well-known "to whosoever I am master, `Alī will be master," associated with Ghadīr Khūm (where the original `Alī is believed by Shi'ites to have been named Muḥammad's successor).

Circular letters about conquests are usually quite florid and do not contain much usable historical data. They are meant to be read in front of the prayers at prominent mosques for the purposes of mass communication. In one text or another circulars have been preserved concerning every single major battle or conquest associated with Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf.

Part of the communication process was the quick conveyance of these proclamations and circulars. This was achieved either through pigeon post or through horse courier (*barīd*), or if it was from abroad, by ship. Dating the tidings of the Battle of the Gulf of Naples on June 5, 1284, which arrived in Alexandria on June 21, and was in the hands of the Sultan by June 27, 1284, gives us a sense of how fast these materials could travel.

<sup>114</sup> See e.g., Ibn Taghribirdī, vii, p. 280.

<sup>115</sup> Ibn Abī Ḥajala, *Sukurdān*, p. 44 (none of these coins appear to have survived).

<sup>116</sup> On al-Ashraf's coins he was titled *nāṣir al-milla al-Muḥammadiyya* (aider of the Muḥammadan community) and *muḥyi al-dawla al-'Abbāsiyya* (reviver of the `Abbāsīd dynasty), see Stephen Album, *Checklist of Islamic Coins* (Santa Rosa: Stephen Album Rare Coins, 2011), p. 112 (#897), and compare text 2, introduction.

Another form of proclamation was the poem, of which there are a fairly large number preserved in these texts. Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir receives a good deal of credit from later historians for his poetry, but a large number of courtiers and others contributed. Much poetry does not remotely approach the standards of the early Islamic or the `Abbāsīd periods. Baybars is quite merciless to one Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Fāriqānī, a Turk, whose simple poem in Arabic he had to correct. Even as it stands now, after his correction, the poem does not require much effort to understand.

A major legitimating factor is the virility of the ruler. The early Mamluks were mostly one-generational military rulers, who were trying by fits and starts to found dynasties. Qalāwūn was the one who succeeded. His three male children (and one daughter) are all celebrated, and are obviously the focus, even from a very early age, of aspirations that they would succeed.

It is rather surprising, however, that Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf do not seem to have had more children. Sexual opportunities for the both of them must have been virtually unlimited, yet we do not hear of concubines or partners other than their wives. Most probably the fact that they were constantly on the move, and frequently in battle left little time for uxoriousness.

### *The Mamluk-`ulamā' nexus*

The Mamluk ruling aristocracy was an alliance between the “masters of the sword” and the “masters of the pen,” which are listed frequently in the texts. Taken in the aggregate (including those in Ibn al-Furāt, trans. separately), there are approximately 420 names, other than dynasts and those appearing solely in the obituaries, listed in the texts. Of these, some 320 are Mamluk emirs (some may overlap), while some 98 are officials, judges and bureaucrats. Others do not easily fit into categories.

From a social point of view, the dominant identifiable ethnicities are obviously Turk (approximately 161, judging from their names). Mongols—who had defected to the Mamluks—were also prominent (at least 5), together with Georgians (3), and some others (Persians, Khwarizmians). Bedouin (at least 7) and Arabs also appear, although the latter appear to have been relegated to the non-front line governates. There appear to have been substantial defections from the Mongols during the Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf periods, especially as the Mongol rulership swung back and forth between conversion to Islam and adherence to traditional belief systems, there were bound to be those who wanted to join the Muslim side.

Qalāwūn appears to have kept power by having a powerful second, Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭuruntāy, whom he trusted completely, and by continually rotating the lower ranking emirs. If Baybars' account is to be believed, junior emirs appear to have been quite grateful upon their promotions. al-Ashraf, as an inheriting Mamluk dynast, was less successful in this regard, and appears to have been viewed by the senior emirs with some level of fear and disdain, rather than respect.

Although one would like that these lists represent the upper levels of the military at the time of Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf, the likelihood is that there are significant numbers unattested in these sources.<sup>117</sup> Since the primary focus of the texts is upon regions in which there combat or disorder, mainly Syria, it is only natural that those regions are better attested in the sources. Even in Syria there are regions that are simply not mentioned. Jerusalem is referred to some 18 times, but almost all of these times are either citations in treaties, references to pilgrimage by Christians, or when discussing the historical circumstances of the Crusaders. Only Ibn al-Furāt gives more details. Neither Qalāwūn nor al-Ashraf appears to have visited the city.<sup>118</sup>

The same is true of large sections of Egypt. Alexandria, from an administrative point of view, is hardly mentioned. Again, Ibn al-Furāt is a bit of an exception, as he gives a number of appointments to cities and governates. But there are virtually no internal details of these localities. One assumes that perhaps up to a third of the senior leadership is simply not listed in the sources, because of their capital-centered-ness, focusing as they do on events in either Cairo or Damascus (or wherever the Sultan happens to be located).

The religious leadership is somewhat better attested, if only because they also composed the various *ṭabaqāt* (classes) or *wafayāt* (obituaries) literature which have come down to us. A large number are listed inside the translated texts, and a surprising percentage of those are accorded obituaries.<sup>119</sup>

That is not to say that the information about the personalities of this time is particularly copious. However, one can get a feel for these major second-tier personalities, such as Sunqur *al-ashqar*, Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, and even for the author Baybars al-Manṣūrī, who never had any real political or military importance. Their offices are listed dutifully, and sometimes personality characteristics or words associated with them are recorded.

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<sup>117</sup> Note the inscription of one Shams al-Dīn Rūs al-Hillī al-Bāniyasī, d. 10 Rajab 690/July 9, 1291 in the village of Dayr al-Balah: Moshe Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004), vol. iii (D-F), pp. 17–9 (otherwise unknown).

<sup>118</sup> But Qalāwūn built and endowed several structures in Jerusalem, see Nimrod Luz, *The Mamluk City in the Middle East: History, Culture, and the Urban Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 231; Hannah Taragan, “Mamluk Patronage, Crusader Spolia,” in Yuval Ben-Bassat (ed.), *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History: Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2017), p. 276 (an inscription from the emir `Alā al-Dīn Aydughdī al-Kubakī near the Dome of the Rock from 5 Ramaḍān 688/Sept. 22, 1289); and the *waqf* inscription of Qalāwūn in Hebron from 680/1281: Moshe Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2013), vol. 5 (H–I), p. 53.

<sup>119</sup> Note al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, p. 62 where the jurispudent Ismā`il son of Ismā`il son of Joscelin al-Ba`lbakī (d. 681/1282) is apparently the grandson of a Crusader named Joscelin.

For third-tier personalities, we have little beyond their titles and sometimes assessments of their successes or failures. It is also sometimes possible to deduce, from the willingness of the Sultan to transfer various figures, what he truly thought of them—whether they were perceived as competent or incompetent, or threats to the regime. To some extent, then, reading the material gives us a hazy picture of the military–religious aristocracy.

*Themes of the other, politically and religiously*

There is probably no text that paints a better picture of the role of intelligence than Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir. Continually and obliquely, he provides the sense of being at the center of a network of intelligence sources. Ultimately, this may be one of the goals of the author: not only to demonstrate the centrality of Qalāwūn, but also his all-knowing quality.

For the Mamluks the Franks and the Mongols were both the ultimate “others.” The Mamluks were clearly more comfortable with the Franks, who were the enemy they knew. Religiously, they despised Christians and Christianity, but they seem to have mastered the ability, at least in treaties and in official delegations, to communicate across religious boundaries. The treaties represent one of the few times in Muslim Arabic literature where Christian beliefs are represented accurately, in a way that Christians themselves would accept.

Frequently the Franks are described as untrustworthy, and causing “corruption in the land” (Q5:32, 11:116, 28:77). Unlike earlier Muslim–Crusader interactions, such as the embassies recollected by Usāma b. Munqidh (d. 584/1188), there does not seem to be any negative descriptions of the Crusaders’ hygiene. Additionally they are not always ritually cursed, the way that Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1232) or other earlier Muslim chroniclers did. However, there does not seem to have been much respect for them. Nowhere are the Crusaders’ military qualities extolled, or any positive characteristics about them mentioned, while they are frequently described as conniving and untrustworthy.

The Mongols were the enemy that the Mamluks did not know, and feared immeasurably more than the Crusaders. The former are frequently described as “the abandoned (by God) enemy” (*makhdhūl*, cf. Q17:22) or other terms. Although in general Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf were militarily successful against the Mongols or at least held them to a draw, the sources, especially those of Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir, always have an air about them that the Mamluks expected to suffer a reversal at any moment. When they fight the Mongols, the tone is of a child picking a fight with an adult, who seems amazed that he could get away with what he did.

One quality Mamluk historians emphasize with regard to the Mongols is cowardice. At every point, effort is made to point out the Mongols’ weaknesses, cowardice on the battlefield, inability to protect their own allies, and general disorganization. This emphasis upon cowardice should not be taken

at face value; it was most probably the Mamluk historians' attempt to counteract the widespread fear of the Mongols.

The raid on Armenia in June 1284 is an excellent example, where the Mamluk raiders are said to have taken the fortress of al-Tinī by storm, as presented by both Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir and Baybars, when Armenians and Mongols happened upon the raiders. This force was then annihilated or taken prisoner, and the Mamluk raiders returned safely for the most part (one was killed). Probably the goal with anecdotes like this was to reinforce the idea that the Mongols were not invincible.

The religious minorities are almost invisible in these texts. Non-Frankish Christians and Jews do not appear to have had a place at the court or access to the Sultan (with the exception of "the sultan's merchant" listed above). Among the exceptions to this rule are the mention of (Christian) witnesses who attest various treaties with Europeans. The Coptic Orthodox Patriarch St. John VII (1271–93)<sup>120</sup> makes no appearances, nor does the *nagid* of the Jewish community, Rabbi Abraham (II) b. David (I) b. Abraham (I) Maimonides (d. 1313).<sup>121</sup> In general, the early Mamluk period for non-Muslims was one of continual harassment on the part of Muslims.<sup>122</sup>

Religious polemics are not mentioned in the texts, but there are extant tracts against the Christians from this time period.<sup>123</sup> The major exception to this rule are the proclamations of al-Ashraf, who appears to have strongly disliked or despised Christians and Christianity. But even Qalāwūn is said to have banned the employment of Christian or Jewish officials—a theme that is typical. Polemical texts usually mention resentment against the employment of Jewish and Christian officials, the absence of the Pact of `Umar's application upon the religious minorities, and persecution of both Christians and sometimes Jews as a result of military setbacks.

It may be that this heightened level of religious polemics was in response to the danger of the Crusaders, or it may have been part of the Mamluk attempt to win legitimacy from the Muslim population.<sup>124</sup> One cannot

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<sup>120</sup> Sewarus b. al-Muqaffa', *Tārīkh Miṣr min bidāyat al-qarn al-awwal al-milādī ḥattā nihāyat al-qarn al-ashrīn min khilāl makhṭūṭat Tārīkh al-batārika* (Cairo: Madbūlī al-Ṣaghūr, 2006), part 4:1, pp. 796–8.

<sup>121</sup> S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), ii, pp. 524–30.

<sup>122</sup> Note the forced conversion of Christians and Samaritans that took place outside Damascus before the Battle of Ḥimṣ in al-Yunīnī, xix, p. 141.

<sup>123</sup> That of Ghāzī al-Wāsiṭī (d. ca. 693/1292), in Richard Gottheil, "Answer to the Dhimmis," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 41 (1921), pp. 383–487, at pp. 396, 429 (English trans.), mentioning Qalāwūn's emirs by name.

<sup>124</sup> E.g., the case of the secretary Badr the Christian (al-Naṣrānī) caught drinking wine with a woman in Damascus in 687/1288, and burned alive for it (the woman was freed after having her nose cut off): al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xxxi, pp. 104–5.

reasonably doubt that religious persecutions of “the other” have been popular throughout history; Edward I of England’s forbidding the Jews from usury (1275), and expulsion of the Jews from England (1290) at this time are similar in kind.

### *Qalāwūn and the common people*

As previously stated, Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir’s presentation of Qalāwūn is that of a paternalistic ruler. Whenever he discovers an injustice he makes sure to rectify it, and takes their interests—such as the digging of the canal—into hand personally, not hesitating to utilize his own royal mamluks for this menial task.

While Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir and other historians translated here usually laud Qalāwūn for the beauty of the Manṣūrī complex Qalāwūn constructed in Cairo, most probably it was the functionality of its hospital that was genuinely noticed by the masses.<sup>125</sup> Most of his generosity seems to have been directed towards the Mamluk elites, but there are a number of times when Qalāwūn is said to have distributed wealth or clothes to the common people.

Another popular protection was the hajj pilgrimage, which by the early Mamluk period had acquired a ritualistic character involving the camel-bearing (*maḥmal*), and a caravan procession, guarded by the ruling dynasty, taking the pilgrims to Medina and Mecca. Most of the chronicles note the pilgrimage each year, and one can be certain that the fact it was not (usually) threatened during this period was played up by Mamluk propaganda.

Another propaganda method was to refer to the cities and regions of the Mamluk Empire as “protected” (such as in “protected” Damascus). This adjective added on to a given name probably served to emphasize the fact that the Mamluks did protect the Muslim community from outside invaders, and the safety that they conferred upon the population was one of the principal benefits of their rule.

During this period Sufism was expanding through Syria and Egypt,<sup>126</sup> and the texts are filled with descriptions of Sufi residences, activities associated with Sufism, and even utilization of Sufis as spies (see the first Aḥmad—Qalāwūn exchange of letters). One should note themes of mystical Sufi participation in battles, such as that recorded in text 4 (a) for the year 687/1288

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<sup>125</sup> Al-Qalqashandī, *Ma’āthir al-ināfa fi ma’ālim al-khilāfa* (Kuwayt: Maṭba‘at Hukūmat al-Kuwayt, 1985), iii, p. 346.

<sup>126</sup> Nathan Hofer, *The Popularization of Sufism in Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt 1173–1325* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), pp. 75, 208 (mentioning Qalāwūn), and *passim* (a large number of anecdotes from this period).



concerning `Uthmān b. Khiḍr b. Sa`d al-Kurdī al-Azkashī al-`Adawī, who is said to have had a vision concerning one of Baybars' battles.<sup>127</sup>

Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf do not seem to have participated in Sufi rites at all, but neither do they seem to have limited them. The major case of interaction between Qalāwūn and a Sufi figure happens at the time of his elder son al-Ṣāliḥ's untimely passing in 687/1288. During this sad interval, one Shaykh `Umar, said to have been the *khalīfa* to Shaykh Abū al-Su`ūd, is said to have approached the Sultan, and told him that the Sufi poor would pray for him if he distributed charity. Qalāwūn gave him 5000 dirhams, but shortly afterwards al-Ṣāliḥ died. When Qalāwūn next saw Shaykh `Umar he reproached the latter, saying that his prayers did not work. But `Umar hastily answered that on the contrary they did work, as al-Ṣāliḥ had gone to heaven instead of hell.<sup>128</sup>

It is not easy to isolate Qalāwūn's level of religiosity; he did everything required of a medieval Muslim ruler, but does not seem to have gone beyond what was necessary.<sup>129</sup> In Ibn al-Furāt there is one example of him receiving the conversion of a mamluk to Islam, although this appears to be *pro forma*. On the other hand, there is also no evidence that he flouted any Muslim norms in terms of excessive drinking.

Probably for the common people the most significant thing that Qalāwūn did was to defeat the Mongols. It would seem that the celebrations in the wake of the Battle of Ḥimṣ were genuinely popular in nature, as were those after the expulsion of the Crusaders in 1291. So while for the most part the Sultan was a distant figure, he fulfilled their expectations of a good ruler.

### *Qalāwūn and the historical record*

In general, Qalāwūn has fared well with Muslim historians. Although he never achieved anything like the star status of Baybars al-Bunduqdārī, he was lauded for his victory over the Mongols,<sup>130</sup> and for his careful consolidation over the Crusader territories, even though this was completed by al-Ashraf after his death. Although one cannot say that his time was prosperous, when

<sup>127</sup> See also Muḥammad b. `Uthmān al-Rūmī, a holy man, said to have been half-naked, but participated in the siege of Marqab (al-Yūnīnī, xix, p. 300), and others who saw visions of victory during the Battle of Ḥimṣ: xix, p. 311.

<sup>128</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, ii, p. 207.

<sup>129</sup> Al-Marjānī, *Bahjat al-nufūs*, ii, p. 848–9 records Qalāwūn's joy at receiving some of the caliph Abū Bakr's hairs from one of his descendants as a religious gift.

<sup>130</sup> Ibn Abī Ḥajala, *Unumūdhaj al-qitāl fi naql al-`awāl* (Beirut: Mu'assasa al-`Arabiyya li-l-Dirāsāt, 2012), on playing chess, pp. 59–60 uses Qalāwūn at the Battle of Ḥimṣ to illustrate strategies; Ibn al-Naḥḥās al-Dimyāṭī, *Mashāri` al-ashwāq ilā maṣāri` al-`ushshāq* (Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyya, 2002), ii, pp. 947–8 also lauds him for standing firm during this battle.

looking at Qalāwūn's reign from the perspective of the middle of the 1300s or the 1400s, it probably looked quite appealing. Unlike the comparative period in Iraq, there are no descriptions of mass famines,<sup>131</sup> earthquakes,<sup>132</sup> or plagues,<sup>133</sup> comparatively few pogroms against the Jews or the Christians, plus an almost continuous series of military victories.

This success, comparatively speaking, was one of the driving forces behind the establishment of a long-term (for the Mamluks) Qalāwūn dynasty, which lasted, after a number of breaks immediately following al-Ashraf's assassination, until 784/1382. It is interesting to compare the portrayals of the two major early Mamluk sultans, Baybars and Qalāwūn. Both were closely connected with defeating the Mongols, both were conquerors and builders, and moreover dynamic figures. Both of them died natural deaths, unlike most Mamluk rulers up till that period.

However, while Baybars has been immortalized by the growth of a series of popular tales that continue to lionize him on a scale only comparable to that of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn,<sup>134</sup> his immediate descendants were feckless. Two of them indeed became sultans, but neither lasted long, and ultimately they both were exiled to Constantinople. Baybars himself might have been a great man, but Qalāwūn was much better at portraying himself as a man of stability (through his propaganda and the chronicles translated below) and raising a family that would continue his legacy. As Ibn Battūta noted, when describing Baybars as the conqueror of Tripoli, when in actuality this achievement belonged to Qalāwūn, the common people apparently remembered the former as the conqueror, but preferred to be ruled by the latter's descendants.

### Texts translated here and their sources

All of the texts translated below are taken from standard editions, but of varying qualities. The language of each text differs, as some are written in a florid manner, while others are quite simple and direct. Citations from the Qur'ān are taken from A. Droge (trans.), *The Qur'ān: A New Annotated Translation*.

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<sup>131</sup> The worst is the sudden rise in wheat prices from 8 dirhams to 35 in 682/1283, in al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, ii, p. 178, which was dealt with by Qalāwūn through confiscation.

<sup>132</sup> See Nicholas Ambraseys, *Earthquakes in the Mediterranean and Middle East: A Multidisciplinary Study of Sismicity up to 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 349–52, listing in the Mamluk Empire just the March 21, 1287 quake in Latakia (quoting Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir's account).

<sup>133</sup> Examining the standard plague treatises of al-Manbijī (d. 785/1383); Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852/1448–9), and al-Suyūfī (d. 911/1505).

<sup>134</sup> See Georges Bohas and Salam Diyab (eds.), *Sīrat al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars ḥasab al-rivāya al-Shāmiyya* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 2011).

The standard edition of Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir, *Tashrīf* (text 1 (a)) is the 1961 edition of Murad Kamil and `Ali al-Naggar, is reasonably good for its time, although there are significant problems with names (many of which were pointed out by Holt), and the editor did not have access to many comparative texts, other than Ibn al-Furāt. The edition is based upon Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Ar 1704, and its language is middle Arabic.

Text 1 (b) was edited by Axel Moberg, *Ur `Abd Allah Ibn `Abd ez-Zāhir's Biografi över Sultanen el-Malik Ašraf Ḥalīl*, and is taken from the Hof-und Staatsbibliothek, Munich, arabisch 405. The edition is so-so, as it appears to be based upon a single surviving manuscript, and the editor did not use enough comparative historical texts in order to solve the textual problems. In all fairness to Moberg, the text does not seem to have been utilized by any later Mamluk historians. Consequently there are a number of difficulties in the translation. The language is also middle Arabic, although not quite as florid as that of 1 (a).

Text 2 is a treaty text taken from Maximiliano Alarcón y Santón and Ramón García de Linares (eds.), *Los Documentos Árabes Diplomáticos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* (Madrid-Granada: Publicaciones de las Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada, 1940), pp. 335–8 (no. 145), Spanish trans. pp. 338–44 is a good, scientific edition, although one lacking in any notes.

Text 3, which is taken from MS Bodleian Marsh 424, is an excellent scientific edition by Paulina Lewicka with copious notes to the Arabic text. The writing style is more comprehensible than that of Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir, but only just barely, as the author uses rather obscure language.

Works of Baybars al-Manṣūrī are uneven in their quality. Baybars, *Zubda* (text 4 (a)) is an excellent scientific edition by D.S. Richards, which is based upon British Library Ms. Add. 23325. The *Zubda* is written for the most part in clear classical Arabic, with some rhetorical flourishes.<sup>135</sup>

Baybars' two smaller texts were both edited by `Abd al-Ḥamīd Šāliḥ: The *Tuḥfa al-mulūkiyya* (text 4 (b)) survives only in a manuscript found in the Vienna Public Library (arabisch 904), while *Mukhtār* (text 4 (c)) is based upon Ambrosiana A-11 in Florence (which had been previously misidentified). The writing style is much simpler than that of the *Zubda*, with comparatively minimal poetry or documents.

In general, I have tried for readability in the translation, so some, especially of the poetry, is free. Most of the prose is quite literal, although I have allowed some expressions to appear as equivalents for the sake of better comprehension.

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<sup>135</sup> See Richards' helpful introduction, xv–xxxiv (English).

**A note on names and transliterations**

Arabic and Farsi are transliterated in accord with the standard transliteration in *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*. Arabic and Persian names are also transliterated in this fashion (I have usually followed Northrup and Mazor for Turkish names in Arabic); Mongol and Turkish names if they are known are transliterated as in Jackson, *Mongols and the Islamic World*; if unknown, then according to what the Arabic necessitates. When I have felt that the Arabic b. = “son of” should be translated, especially inside Turkish and Mongol names, then I have done so. Titles and nicknames are given in Arabic, Farsi, and Turkish, with a translation the first time they occur. For other places in the text, the reader should refer to the glossary where all such words are translated. Standard place names (Cairo, Damascus, Gaza, Mecca) are given as known popularly; local place names are given in their Arabic form or the Arabic form of a Turkish or other place name when this cannot be identified. The term *manşūr* “victorious” or even “made victorious by God” continually appears throughout the texts, and has usually been translated when it is not obviously the name of the ruler, but for the original readers would have further emphasized his regnal title.

## Text 1 (a)

### TASHRĪF AL-AYYĀM WA-L-`UṢŪR FI SĪRAT AL-MALIK AL-MANṢŪR

#### ENOBLING THE DAYS AND EPOCHS WITH REGARD TO THE LIFE OF AL-MALIK AL-MANṢŪR

Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir

*Presumably the section that was lost at the beginning would have started with a description of Qalāwūn's accession, and might have included some evidence for his political legitimacy. Probably there would have been a detailed description of the Battle of Ḥimṣ on October 29, 1281, which was an overwhelming victory for Qalāwūn personally, and led to the negotiations with the Mongols that are the theme of the first part of the text as it now stands. One can assume, therefore, based upon the relative proportions of the text and its treatment of events, that approximately 15–25 pages have been lost from the beginning.*

#### Text [...]

During this year [680/1281], reports came from protected Aleppo that the raiders (*ghayyāra*)<sup>1</sup> had turned towards the [Seljuq] Rūm, being 600–700 riders. They encountered a caravan of approximately 200 camels leaving the land of Sīs to Rūm, and robbed it. It was loaded with sugar, soap, pistachios,

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<sup>1</sup> These seem to be outriders or some type of Mamluk soldiers, see Baybars, *Tuḥfa*, p. 66, where they come from al-Bīra.

lead, and cotton. Then the most senior Rūm [Seljuq] commander, known as Ibn al-Qatnā/Qutnā,<sup>2</sup> rode at them, but they killed him and most of his soldiers—approximately 200 horsemen—and most were wounded. They arrived at Arkalnā, whereupon the deputy in it fled. [2]

Shujā` al-Dīn Hūkhandī and Mubārīz al-Dīn arrived, happening upon Ibn Qurmān's<sup>3</sup> soldiers, so they massed themselves and drove towards Mt. Bulghar, above Mandas.<sup>4</sup> They returned safely between the mountains between the Sīs Road and the lands of the [Seljuq] Rūm.

On Thursday, 17 Rabī` al-Awwal [July 6, 1281] Alfonso [X']s (*fanash*) envoy arrived, who was the learned knight major (*maître?*) Felipe (*yaystr qlf-l-b*) the Spaniard (*isbaniyūlī*),<sup>5</sup> with his companion the priest *pere*/Pedro Estebán (*bir-i-s-t-b-t/n*).<sup>6</sup> With them were gifts (*taqādim*) for our master the Sultan, the sum total of which were horses, mules and other gifts. The Sultan met with them and honored them.

### **Mention of Abagha's perishing, and the dominion's passing to Tegūder, called Aḥmad [3]**

During this year the reports of Abagha<sup>7</sup> son of Hūlegū's death were confirmed,<sup>8</sup> and this was because of the fright and fear that had overtaken him in the wake of Mengū Temūr's defeat,<sup>9</sup> and because of fright at his armies and the Mongol senior commanders being killed. While he was in this situation, it reached him that his and his father's treasuries, which were in a tower in a fortress beside the sea, when God had caused this tower to be swallowed up. The earth had sunk into the sea with it and all that was in it. Nothing but a small part of the tower was saved.

It was said: Abagha entered into the bath, then upon exiting from it, heard the sounds of a great many ravens cawing.<sup>10</sup> He said: They were saying,

<sup>2</sup> Vocalization uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> In Baybars' account named as Fakhr al-Dīn Kunārī Ibn Qurmān (= Gūneri, the Kahraman ruler).

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Castrum Nigrinum, Mandjilike Kale, above Payas, to the north of Darbsāk.

<sup>5</sup> First element of the name is highly conjectural; but name of Felipe is attested from this period (Alfonso's brother).

<sup>6</sup> Estebán attested from the truce with Aragon (year 686/1287); perhaps identical with Estebán Nogera mentioned below

<sup>7</sup> Mongol ruler of the Il-Khan Empire (Iraq, Iran and parts of Central Asia).

<sup>8</sup> Who died on April 1, 1282.

<sup>9</sup> At the Battle of Hims.

<sup>10</sup> Note that Rashīd al-Dīn, trans. Thackston, p. 545 gives a story about birds foreshadowing Abagha's death; and Riccoldo da Montecroce (traveling in the Il-Khan Empire in 1291), *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq* (trans. Rita George-Tvrtcović, Tourhout: Brepols, 2012), p. 188 affirms the role of communication from birds for the Mongols.

“Abagha has died, Abagha has died!” (*Abāghā māta*) He rode from the bath, and suddenly there were hunting dogs, all of them howling in his face, so he took this as a bad omen. Abagha died 15 Dhū al-Ḥijja 680 [March 27, 1282] in one of the villages of Hamadan named Nayil—and some say in a land whose name was Karmashahan,<sup>11</sup> close to the land of Hamadan.

The reason for his death is that when he returned from the direction of al-Raḥba, he was hunting, and followed closely behind a gazelle, but went head over heels from the horse, so stayed in a tent (*kharkāh*). Magicians came in to him, whereupon he said, “What are these people wearing black?” so he was carried and died, as mentioned, and was buried in the citadel of Talā with his father.<sup>12</sup> His brother Ejei died two days after him. [4]

Mengū Temūr son of Hūlegū died while he was going from the land of al-Jazīra to the [royal] encampment (*urdū*) in a place called Tell Būkhanrīz, a bit below al-Ḥaškūna<sup>13</sup> and Kafar Zamār.<sup>14</sup> His coffin (*tābūt*) was carried to al-Jazīra.

It was mentioned that the cause of Mengū Temūr’s death was the extra heavy number of wounds he had incurred [from the Battle of Ḥims], and continual frights. While he was dying, he chewed his tongue, and managed to consume half of it. He was wrapped in four garments of fabric, placed in a coffin, taken to Talā and buried there.

When Abagha son of Hūlegū died, there was a dispute concerning who would sit upon the throne. One group was strongly supportive of Aḥmad son of Hūlegū, whose real name was Tegūder. His mother’s name was Qutūkhātūn, and she was a Christian. They agreed to seat him on the throne of the realm.

But it was not easy for some of the Mongols (*mughal*) that Aḥmad would sit [on the throne] because he claimed that he was Muslim, so his brother Qongquratai was present, and said to Arghun son of Hūlegū,

Abagha made a condition in the Great *Yāsā*<sup>15</sup> that when a king dies, only the eldest of his children should sit in his place. We have designated Aḥmad; whoever opposes [him] dies, so obey him.

The ambassadors (*ilchiyya*) went to bring the kings into the presence, in order to write in favor of king Aḥmad in their own handwriting.

When this happened, they discussed among themselves that their power had weakened, their men had been killed, and that the Muslims had grown

<sup>11</sup> Probably Kirmanshah.

<sup>12</sup> Appears to have been the traditional burial site for the Il-Khans, see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Hawādith*, p. 384 (said to be close to Maragha); also Ibn Sipāhzāda, *Awḍāḥ al-masālik ilā maʿrifat al-buldān wa-l-mamālik* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2006), p. 67.

<sup>13</sup> Reading uncertain.

<sup>14</sup> According to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, iv, p. 469 up from Mosul.

<sup>15</sup> The testament of Genghis Khan to his descendants.



in influence. There was no trick during that time better than to outwardly manifest Islam, and to be close to the favor of our master the Sultan, thereby equaling his strength. This matter became well known, and he sent a letter to Baghdad, which contained: [5]

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. There is no god but Allah, Muḥammad is the Messenger of God.

We have sat on the chair of kingship, and we are Muslims, so let the people of Baghdad receive these glad tidings, and have confidence in their schools (*madrāsas*), their charitable endowments (*wuqūf*), and all the charitable incomes in which they had confidence during the days of the `Abbāsīd caliphs.

Everyone having a right to the charitable endowments, the mosques and the schools should return to them, and not depart from the fundamentals of Islam. You, O people of Baghdad, are Muslims, and we have heard on the authority of the Prophet that he said, “This Islamic band will continue being victorious until the Day of Resurrection.”<sup>16</sup> We have known this tradition (*khābar*) to be authentic, and [the] Messenger is truthful. The Lord is One, One, unique and eternal.<sup>17</sup> So let your hearts be at ease and write to all the lands.

King Aḥmad mandated the dispatch of envoys to the gates of our master the Sultan, so he sent the Chief Judge Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Shīrāzī,<sup>18</sup> the judge of Sivas,<sup>19</sup> the emir Bahā’ al-Dīn, *atābak* to Sultan Mas`ūd,<sup>20</sup> the lord of [Seljuq] Rum, the emir Shams al-Dīn b. al-Ṣāḥīb,<sup>21</sup> one of the close companions of the ruler of Mārdīn.<sup>22</sup> They traveled together with a large number of

<sup>16</sup> The general content of this tradition has many variants, but this one does not appear to be attested in the standard collections.

<sup>17</sup> Paraphrase of Q112:1–2.

<sup>18</sup> On him, see al-Ḥanafī, *al-Jawāhir al-muḍī’a fī ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyya* (Cairo: Ḥajar li-l-Ṭibā`a, 1993), iii, p. 344, iv, p. 405.

<sup>19</sup> In Anatolia.

<sup>20</sup> Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas`ūd II (1284–96).

<sup>21</sup> Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ṣāḥīb al-Tītī, who was the minister to the ruler of Mārdīn.

<sup>22</sup> Who is never given a name throughout these texts—at this time al-Muzaffar Qarā Arslān b. Ilghāzī—probably because of his close collaboration with the Mongols. Mārdīn was later the target of a *fatwa* (solicited religious opinion) by Ibn Taymiyya because of the same issue, see Alan Verskin, *Oppressed in the Land? Fatwās on Muslims living under non-Muslim Rule from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 2013), pp. 38–9.

followers, hangers-on, male slaves (*ghilmān*), mamluks (*mamālīk*), and close companions, in great fanfare.

They arrived [6] at al-Bīra,<sup>23</sup> and when this reached our master the Sultan, he wrote to his deputies to watch over them, and that none of God's creation should see them, meet with them, or say so much as a word to them. They should only travel by night.

They were brought into Aleppo during the night of Saturday 21 Jumādā al-Ākhira [September 26, 1282]—brought in secretly without anybody knowing of it. Then they were conveyed to Damascus and from it to Egypt. They were brought in at night and escorted before our master the Sultan. Then they kissed the earth before him, and brought before them a letter, and discussed it face-to-face.

The text of this letter arriving with the envoys, the judge Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Shīrāzī, the emir Bahā' al-Dīn, the emir Shams al-Dīn b. al-Şāhib, without address or seal, but in it there were red royal Mongol marks (*tamaghāt*), 13 in number.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, by the strength of God Most High, at the good fortune of the Qaghān, *firmān* (at the order of) Aḥmad to the Sultan of Egypt.

*Afterwards*, God, may He be praised and raised, by His previous interest and the light of His guidance, has guided us in the bloom of youth and the best of youthfulness to affirm His Lordship, to confess His Oneness, and to testify to Muḥammad, in the truth of his prophecy, the beauty of belief in those of His righteous servants among His friends (*awliyyā'*) in His creation.

“Whoever God intends to guide, He expands his heart to Islam...”<sup>24</sup> We continue to tend towards uplifting the Word of the Religion,<sup>25</sup> and the straightening of matters for Islam and the Muslims. He [God] may cause the responsibility of the realm upon us to be fulfilled, after [the example of] our good father and elder brother.

Then He would bestow upon us some grace and subtleties, as long as our hopes in Him are realized with His copious benefits and gifts, as most of this realm is under us, and the bestowal of the best part of it [7] is upon us.

In our blessed *qūriltālay*—which is the gathering in which opinions spark flames—they met in our presence: all the brothers, sons, senior emirs, commanders of the armies, leaders of the lands, so they agree on the

<sup>23</sup> One of the border-towns on the Euphrates River.

<sup>24</sup> Q6:125. All Qur'ānic translations are taken from A.J. Droge, *The Qur'ān: A New Annotated Translation* (Sheffield: Equinox, 2013).

<sup>25</sup> Cf Q9:40.

policy that was executed during the rule of our elder brother. [This was] concerned with saving the vast majority of our armies, which had surrounded the world in its vastness because of their number. Their number was causing the world to be filled with terrible fear of being attacked by them, together with their harsh impact upon all directions. Towering mountains knelt to them because of their resolution, and the obstruction of hard ground yielded to their determination.

So we have given thought to what the cream of their intentions produced in that regard and have brought together their opinions and desires concerning it. We found it to be opposed to following after the general good, which is in our conscience, namely as to the strengthening of the characteristics of Islam.

Everything that proceeds from our commands—as long as we are capable—necessitates avoiding bloodshed and quieting disorder (*duhmā'*), so that the breeze of peace and safety will waft gently through the four quarters, giving the Muslims rest in all the cities in the bosom of kindness and good-treatment, magnifying God's command and in kindness towards God's creation.

God Most High has inspired us to dampen this flare-up (of dissension), quiet the agitating dissensions (*fitan*), to inform any who tend towards that opinion of the dedication to hopefully heal the world of ills, and to put off the remedy's completion as long as necessary.

We do not want to hurry, brandishing the blade in conflict, as we are determined to call for righteousness that we have seen, thereby implementing the point of success apparent to us.

Mentioning the Shaykh of Islam, the Qudwat al-`Ārifīn (Example of the Gnostics), Kamāl al-Dīn `Abd al-Raḥmān,<sup>26</sup> who is a blessed aid for us [8] in religious matters, we have made this fact public as a mercy from God to those who called upon Him, as well as a retribution against those who have turned away from Him and rebelled. We have dispatched the Supreme Judge (*aqḍā al-quḍāt*), Quṭb al-Milla wa-l-Dīn (the Pole of Reason and Religion), and the *atābak* Bahā' al-Dīn, who are both among the confidants of this brilliant regime (*dawla*) to inform them of our way.

Our beautiful intention is realized in them, for Muslims in general, and we have clarified to them that we have perception from God, and that Islam cuts off that which was previous to it. The Most High has cast in

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<sup>26</sup> The Mongol ambassador.

our heart that we should follow the truth and its people [Islam]. Also bearing witness to the awesomeness of God's grace upon everyone in that to which we have summoned: namely, putting the circumstances of doing good first, not forbidding them by gazing towards past conditions, as every day is a matter [of its own].

If their souls have perceived a guide by which they seek for the deep-rooted causes of stability, a proof they can trust with mature intention, then let them gaze upon the feats we have manifested, which have become widely known and their effects felt.

We have begun—success is from God—to raise and manifest the religion's flags, to furnish every matter and to make it widely known as early as possible to establish the Muḥammadan legal norms (*nawāmīs*) in accordance with the Aḥmadī just law (*qānūn*) in honor and awe.<sup>27</sup>

We have caused happiness to enter the hearts of the populace, having clemency towards all who have committed or perpetrated an evil action, receiving them with pardon, saying, "God has had clemency upon that which is past."

We have made the issue of the Muslims' charitable endowments in the mosques, the shrines (*mashāhid*) and the schools a priority, and the renovation of the sites of pious donations and the abandoned hospices (*rubuṭ*) for studies—transmitting their revenues, in accordance with the former practice, to the beneficiaries stipulated by the donor [of the *waqf*].

We have forbidden that anyone should request anything of what has been newly devised or that [anyone] should change one [single] thing from what was originally determined. We have commanded the sanctity and supply of the pilgrimage (to Mecca), making its paths secure, and its caravans travel with ease.

We have given leave to the merchants who pass over these lands to travel wherever they wish in their best possible [9] manner, and we have prohibited the armies, the road-guard (*qarāghūl*), and the garrisons in the border regions to interfere in their comings and goings.

Our road-guard had encountered a spy in the guise of a poor (Sufi), whose rightful fate was death. But his blood was not spilled because of what God Most High has prohibited, and so we have returned him to them.<sup>28</sup> It should not be lost upon them that freeing the spy entailed harm

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<sup>27</sup> Reference to Aḥmad Tegüder.

<sup>28</sup> Presumably the Mamluks.

to the Muslims, as our armies for a long time have suspected those in the guise of poor (Sufis), holy men and righteous ones, so their hearts have become bitter towards those groups.

For this reason they have killed those among them they could, and committed other atrocities, but then the need arose, praise be to God, for the permission of free movement for merchants that we just now permitted. When they pondered these matters and others like them, it will not be lost upon them that these are inherent natural ethics, resulting from lack of culpability and naked affection.

This was the situation, but the notice of injury that use to be grounds for hostility has [now] disappeared: it was the path of religion and the defence of Muslim territory. By God Most High's grace, clear light has appeared in our realm, in spite of the circumstances that preceded it.

Whoever choses the correct path, then, will find "for them (there is) happiness and a good (place of) return."<sup>29</sup> We have lifted the veil, brought the "descisive word,"<sup>30</sup> and made them aware of that upon which we are resolved with intention to begin anew solely for the sake of God Most High.

Thus we have prohibited all of our armies from doing anything that opposes it, so that God and the Messenger will be pleased, and our pages [in the heavenly books] will be inscribed with marks of initiative and receptivity. This community [Muslims] should be at rest from the differences of belief, as the light of harmony breaks the darkness of difference and gloom.

Then both the desert-dwellers and the city-dwellers should be quiescent in its lengthy shade, and hearts filled with stress and throat-slitting should rejoice, and enjoy clemency from the sighing and sins.

If God grants success to the Sultan of Egypt in accord with the commonweal (the right state of the world) and the natural order of humans, then it will be necessary for him to "grasp the firmest handle,"<sup>31</sup> to follow the exemplary way by opening the doors [10] of obedience and union, and to exert sincerely in such a way so that these realms and lands will be renovated, the raging discord will be quieted, the sharp-cutting sword will be sheathed, all the lands will be at peace, and the Muslims' necks will be free from the shackles of humiliation and lowliness.

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<sup>29</sup> Q13:29.

<sup>30</sup> Q38:20.

<sup>31</sup> Q2:256.

But if evil thoughts should overcome the grace that the Giver of mercy has bestowed, and withhold cognizance of this benefit's limit, then God has thanked us for our efforts, and accepted our excuse. We will not be tormented when we are raised as a messenger, as God is the One who grants success to the rightly-guided and the just, and He is the Guardian of the lands and the worshippers, so God alone is sufficient for us.

This was written in the middle of Jumādā al-Ulā, the year 681 [Aug. 28, 1282] in the place of the [royal] tent (*utāq*).

Our master the Sultan wrote his answer:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, by the power of God Most High received the realm of the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr.

The words of Qalāwūn to the Sultan Aḥmad:

And now, praise be to God who clarified through us and for us the Truth as a manner, and brought us, so “when the help of God came and the victory, and you see people entering into the religion of God in crowds,”<sup>32</sup> and prayers upon our master and prophet Muḥammad, whom God has distinguished over every prophet, having rescued his community through him, and is a savior over every prophet—a prayer enlightning that which is obscured, and those who obscure. The Noble Book has come, met with honor, which contains the awesome news: his entrance into the religion and his departure from his tribe and relatives' past. [11]

When one opens this Book, the report informs the one who informs, together with the tradition (*ḥadīth*) that is verified in its Islamic nature by the people of Islam. The most correct traditions are related on the authority of a Muslim, just as faces are turned in supplicatory prayer to God, may He be praised, at the time when he is firm in this firm word, while a grain of love for this religion grows in his heart, just as the best of vegetation grows in the harshest environment.

Thought is obtained from the beginning point by his remembrance of his discourse of pure intention at life's starting point, the bloom of youth, until his acknowledgment of monotheism, which is his entrance into the Muḥammadan community by word, deed and intention. Praise be to God that He has “expanded his heart to Islam,”<sup>33</sup> inspiring him in the noblest manner, just as we have praised God that He has made us

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<sup>32</sup> Q110:1.

<sup>33</sup> Q6:125.

among the forerunners to this belief and station, making our feet firm in the place of (legal) exertion (*ijtihād*) and sacral warfare (*jihād*), without which our feet would quake.

As for fulfillment of the responsibility of rule, and its inheritance after his father, and elder brother, and the delegation of this encloaking awesome gift upon him, his mounting thrones purified by his oaths, which manifest his rulership (*sultān*), God causes the one He chooses from among His servants to inherit them, and makes the portents right for him as a result of God's friends (*awlīyā'*) nobility for those servants.

As for the narrative of the brothers, the sons, the senior emirs, the commanders of the armies, and the leaders of the lands' meeting in a *qūriltāy*<sup>34</sup> gathering in which the cream of opinions was ladled out, it appears that you agreed upon the same belief your elder brother had held. This belief was manifested by the dispatch of armies to this direction [Syria], and that this was reiterated in their opinions that were brought together. It that to which their desires tended, so (sending armies) is in opposition to what is on his mind. If he [Aḥmad] desires making things right, then his opinion should cause this to happen.

Then he would bank this flame, quiet this raging, which would be the action of a god-fearing king, mindful of what remains for his people, thinking deeply about the consequences of (his) actions, and the sagacious opinion. If not, were they to be abandoned in their opinions, until heedlessness sweeps them aside, then this cycle (of fate) would be final.

But he is like one who fears [12] the station of his Lord, and forbids the soul from its whim. The word of one who goes astray does not accord with the action of one who is in error. As for the word concerning him: haste does not love the roll of the dice, other than when the roll is clear, and the proof has been formulated.

Thus, the true arrangement of faith's path has become our proof, but his proof is yet unformulated for one whose obedience has departed from following this deceptive dice-roll. God and all of the people have known of our upholding (Islam)—that is it is for the support of this community (Muslims), that our sacral warfare (*jihād*) and exertion in truth is solely for the sake of God.

So when he entered with us into the religion, then hatred departed, and revenge was no more,<sup>35</sup> through the contest being abandoned. In the

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<sup>34</sup> Spelled differently than in Aḥmad's letter.

<sup>35</sup> *Dhuḥūl* also means hatred.



attainment of mutual assistance, faith is like a building in which each part supports the other. Whoever raises its lighthouse, he has family in place of family in every location, neighbors in place of neighbors in every land.

As for the arrangement of these many rules in accord with mention of the Shaykh of Islam, Qudwat al-`Ārifīn, Kamāl al-Dīn `Abd al-Raḥmān, may God return his blessings, never before has a friend [of God] demonstrated miracles the like of his. It is to be hoped that his blessings and those of the righteous will make each house in Islam a house for rising (*iqāma*) [in prayer] until the conditions of faith are perfected, and the totality of Islam is returned altogether to that which it was. It cannot be denied to one whose miracles have a beginning from this strength in existence, that each right in his blessing will return to its origin.

As for sending the Supreme Judge, Quṭb al-Milla, and the *atābak* Bahā' al-Dīn, who was entrusted with conveying the two of them in fulfillment of the messages, they have presented themselves and returned every good word of those precious circumstances, thoughts occurring, and debates disputed. This is among everything for which we are grateful and give praise, as their traditions are traced back to Aḥmad [b. Ḥanbal's] *Musnad*.<sup>36</sup> [13]

As for the mention of souls (people) who rise to fulfilling evidence, they will be judged according to the imperatives of Majestic Love, so let them look to the fruits of their labors, in their comings and goings, in justice and doing right, in heart and tongue, in donating to charitable endowments, mosques, and guardhouses (*rubuṭ*), easing the roads for the pilgrimage, and other things.

These are the characteristics of one who wishes continuity for his realm. When he rules, he is just, and does not tend towards the condemnation of one who is an aggressor, nor the condemnation of one who criticizes. This is in spite of the fact that they, even being in and of themselves good acts, receiving compensation for which tongues would sound forth in supplicatory prayer, are simply obligations to be fulfilled, (and) sacrifices to be manifested. He should aspire to greater than merely being boastful of receiving recompense for something or falling short of it, so that he should store up (good deeds).

Nay, the great kings only boast concerning realms being returned to their [rightful] kings, and their greatness is in accord with their acting in this manner. His father<sup>37</sup> acted thus with the Seljuq kings [of Rum] and others.

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<sup>36</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), the eponym of the Ḥanbali school of law, and an important *ḥadīth* collector.

<sup>37</sup> Hūlegü.

Not one of them had his religion, nor entered with him into a religion, and yet he confirmed them in their realms, and did not remove them.

It is incumbent upon him when he sees a right taken by force to not deny returning it, nor give a yard (fathom) in injustice without wanting to block it. This should continue until his rule's circumstances strengthen, and his days are adorned with acts of god-fearingness.

As for his prohibiting the armies, the road-guard (*qarāghūlāt*), and garrisons on the border regions from interfering with anyone harmfully, and clarifying the comings and goings of travelers from harmful misfortunes, from this it has reached us [14] his advance towards to the rest of our deputies in Raḥba, al-Bīra, and `Aynṭāb, and to the armies' commanders in the outlying regions of these realms. When faith is unified, and oaths have been confirmed, these laws will be in force, and all (other) laws will be subject to this prohibition.

As for the poor (Sufi) spy who was arrested and then set free, if those spies who dress like poor (Sufis) are a cause for killing all of the righteous poor merely on the basis of suspicion. This a door which, if opened a small bit, will open wide; a spark like this could start a conflagration. How many dressed as a poor (Sufi) they have sent, and taken for questioning about matters!

God has made them victorious over a large number, lifting the sword from them. Garb of poverty did not reveal what they concealed by [asking] why? and how?!

As for the mention of credal unity, the injustice of difference is revealed, and some of the goodness of broken promises are showered down with it—it is the way to making the world right, and to order humans in total-ity. There will then be no one who refuses to open the doors of unity, or [does not] incline towards agreement, not even a single one (?).<sup>38</sup>

Whoever folds away the reins of mutual struggle is like the one who stretches the hand of reconciliation to be grasped. Truce, even if it the master of laws, has need of matters upon which to construct its foundations, and knowledge by which its benefits are guided.

The matters written [15] in his letter are necessary particulars by which every habitation and post will be re-inhabited, whether a truce is prepared

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<sup>38</sup> The editor notes the corruption of the text for the previous two lines. The translation is conjectural.

or not. Then there are matters in need of being adjudicated. Going forward with them there are treaties to be put in order. If these are carried out by face-to-face negotiations, when they are brought to fruition, souls (people) would be persuaded by them.

Contents of missives would protect them just as the written page protects [secrecy]. As for the mention adducing His Word Most High, “We never punish until We have sent a messenger,”<sup>39</sup> no amity will be woven together according to this discourse, nor be concluded in this way. Treaties can be worked out (lit. tended), and benefits exacted on the basis of proceeding in the religion and aiding it. The merit continues to be the priority, even if the amount is confined to the first one. If the one who arrives ponders this verse out of context, then it will be reflected upon and interpreted (wrongly).

When we have finally had an answer, even an answer to the letter’s parts will be incumbent upon him, we have heard of the face-to-face negotiation by the Supreme Judge Quṭb al-Dīn, then there can be correspondence on the basis of this letter. That is, his [Aḥmad’s] entrance into the religion [Islam], his ordering a compact dealing with the believers, and the justice and good treatment he has extended. All of this will be thanked by the tongue of every person.

Then God’s grace will be upon him, so let him not recompense Him by reproachfulness. This is as God revealed to His Messenger concerning those who reproach submitting to Him (converting to Islam), “Say: Do not bestow your submission upon me as a favor. No! God bestows a favor on you in that He has guided you to belief.”<sup>40</sup>

Among [the terms of] face-to-face negotiations, God has given it an advantage—how much expanding boundaries into lands and water that is in the hands of others is of no avail! If there is desire to obtain an agreement about that, then the matter is possible.

The answer is those three are matters after which concord is obtained then it will be possible to construct the basis for mutual companionship and trust. God and the people see how we have reconciled, while our enemy is humiliated, and the one for whom we have affection is glorified.

How many companions have been found, while no father, brother or relatives have been! The matter of this religion was only perfected and made strong at

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<sup>39</sup> Q17:25. This verse is not specifically cited in the original Mongol letter, so the reference may be to the last paragraph in which the word “messenger” is used.

<sup>40</sup> Q49:17.

the beginning of Islam by the mutual aid supplied by the Companions. If he has devoted desire for unity and true amity, and good [16] mutual support, then enmity and opposition will be turned upside down, as well as relying upon those who would make matters worse, then that is the correct opinion.

Among [the terms of] face-to-face negotiation, if the desire is long-term as regards the land and water in his possession, there is no need to transmit this [message] to the raiders who are harming the Muslims without any benefit accruing. The answer is that when he refrains, the aggression will refrain, and the Muslims will be left alone, so that their realms will be stable (lit. disorder will be calmed) and blood will be spared.

What he deserves will not be forbidden because of natural disposition (*khuluq*), while he does the same, nor will he command right-treatment (*birr*) while forgetting to do the same. Qongquratai<sup>41</sup> is in [Seljuq] Rum, which is a land in your hands, whose revenue is levied to you. Blood, however, has been shed and murder done, with taking captives and violations, selling of freeborn, and indulging in harm and doing what you will.

Among [the terms of] face-to-face negotiation that there is the resolution to cease these raids and endless eruptions,<sup>42</sup> so that a place for meeting can be specified. God gives victory to whom He wills, so the answer to this is that the places agreed upon as meeting places for the two groups time and again their approaches are avoided by those saved from that [raiding] group, who fear to frequent them, as the champion of that group frequents them.

The time of the meeting is known only to God, so he should not plan ahead. Victory is solely from God to the one who is most capable, not to the one who plans ahead. We are not among those who look for the unexpected, nor those who look in any direction other than forward. The matter of the hour of victory is nothing like the Hour which only comes suddenly,<sup>43</sup> and God is the One who grants success in accord with the well-being of this community [Muslims], and is able to perfect every good and blessing.

When the envoys' work was completed at the gates of our master the Sultan, he bestowed upon them robes and absolute favors, and they were sent on their way in the guise in which they had presented themselves, in complete security and protection. Absolutely no one met them, gazed at them or even saw them.

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<sup>41</sup> Ahmad Tegüder's brother, who he had killed later on.

<sup>42</sup> Editor notes the difficulty of the text at this point.

<sup>43</sup> Cf Q22:55.

So they were on their way to Aleppo on 6 Shawwāl 681 [January 8, 1283], and then went on to their land. [17]

During Rabī` al-Awwal 681 [June 1282] the letters of our master the Sultan's envoys, who had been sent to Mengū Temūr<sup>44</sup> with gifts, arrived at Bayt Barka. These were the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqar al-Ghutamī, the emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Ruknī al-*khāṣṣ* al-Turkī, together with gifts. These were 16 woollen cloaks (*ta`bi`a*), among them for the king Mengū Temūr, for Nogai,<sup>45</sup> for the king Ukji, brother of the king Mengū Temūr, for Töde Mengū,<sup>46</sup> brother of Mengū-[Temūr], who was the one who seized the dominion, and for Balābughā, brother of Mengū Temūr. [18]

**Among them what belongs to the wives [of the Khan] ...<sup>47</sup>**

Jabjak Khātūn, Alḥay Khātūn, to Tütlin Khātūn, to Taliyūn Khātūn, to Sulṭān Khātūn and to Khaṭalū Khātūn. That which belongs to Maaw, the emir of the left flank, and that which belongs to Ṭīra, the emir of the right flank, what belongs to Qaliq, wife of Kūjī, and that which belongs to the Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn [Mas`ūd] son of Sultan `Izz al-Dīn [Kaykā`ūs], the [Seljuq] ruler of Rūm.

Everything should be gifted with its like: from gorgeous fabrics, splendid suits of clothes, expensive gifts, bows and cuirasses (*jawāshin*), helmets (*khūdh*)—every one according to their status.

They said:

When we arrived, we found the Khan Mengū Temūr had died, and that Töde Mengū had taken his place. This was in Jumādā al-Ākhira the year 680 [October–November 1281], so we gave the gifts to him. They rejoiced at them, and treated the envoys very well. They gathered with Nogai and all who had been brought to him in response and reception.

They said:

The defeat which happened at Ḥimṣ reached them during Sha`bān [December 1281], when it was on 14 Rajab [October 29, 1281]. The aforementioned death of Mengū Temūr was in a place known as Aqlūqiyya (Aqtūqiyya)<sup>48</sup> during Rabī` al-Awwal the year 679 [July–August 1280], and the cause of death was that a bubo appeared on his neck, so he attempted to lance it, then died.

<sup>44</sup> Ruler of the Golden Horde 1266–80.

<sup>45</sup> Great-grandson of Jochi of the Golden Horde, khan of a subsidiary horde.

<sup>46</sup> Ruled the Golden Horde 1281–7.

<sup>47</sup> Meaning the Khan of the Golden Horde.

<sup>48</sup> Unidentified, alternate spelling in text.

During this year the son of the Sharīf Abū Numay,<sup>49</sup> emir of Mecca, may God ennoble it, arrived at the gates of our master the Sultan. With him there were a group of nobles [descendants of Muḥammad], family, relatives, leaders of the Hījāz. They had broad-necked horses and gifts.

The Sultan rode to meet them, and treated their honor well, giving them hospitality and having them served. He granted them [19] large land (*iqṭā`āt*) fiefs—to every noble and ennobled, to every emir and commanded one. He made their charitable endowments which for the period of a number of years had been alienated from them, but bestowed upon them quantities of wealth, land fiefs, and robes of honor. He made sure that kindnesses (*tafaqqudāt*) were granted to all the descendants of the Prophet, the learned, the judges, the possessors of positions and religious establishments (*zawāyā*) in the sacred enclosure and Mecca.

He established for them a written command, and equipped the caravan and the covering [of the Ka`ba]. So they departed as usual accompanied by the emir of forty, the senior commander (*isfahsalār*), Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭunbughā al-Khawārizmī.

In the caravan the emir `Alā` al-Dīn *al-bunduqdār* (in charge of cross-bows) also went with a group, and it was a witnessed pilgrimage. But Abū Numay, the emir of Mecca, reciprocated good treatment with its opposite, and gracious favors with disregard, so he well-neigh perished and was ruined.

He submitted and professed service, and thanks for the favors. But his movements were not concealed from the observer, nor witnessed to be a type of guardian. A caravan was sent from Syria, whose commander was *al-Ṭawāshī* Badr al-Dīn Badr al-Ṣawābī. With him there were a group of troops and free-born troops (*halqa*).

### **Mention of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ's dowry**

During this year our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr desired to marry our master the Sultan al-Malik [20] al-Ṣāliḥ<sup>50</sup> off. When it was 19 Rajab 681 [October 23, 1282] he married the daughter of the emir Sayf al-Dīn Nogai son of Bayan son of Quṭūghān,<sup>51</sup> one of the Mongol commanders in the Sultan's service. All of the people attended according to their classes: from the possessors of swords, pens, knowledge and flags. They celebrated with a great celebration including candles, expensive perfumes, incenses, and other types of consumables that are usual during a time like that.

The deputy on the part of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ was the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, the deputy Sultan, while the one responsible for

<sup>49</sup> Sharif of Mecca 1254–1301.

<sup>50</sup> Qalāwūn's eldest son, who died in 1288.

<sup>51</sup> Whose other daughter had married Baybars al-Bunduqdārī. Nogai's name is given in several variants.

the wife was the emir Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aydimur, the tutor for the noble woman's house (*dār al-sharīfa*). The dowry was 5000 dinars, of which 2000 was paid beforehand. Our master the Sultan attended the wedding festivities that took place before him. This day was given over to complete happiness. He entered his house secretly, without making dust, fanfare or having anybody preceding [him], or the slightest thing.

During<sup>52</sup> this year the truce between our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr and his son the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, `Alā al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, `Alī and the Grand Master (*muqaddam*) Brother William of Beaujeu, the Grand Master of the Templars was renewed for Acre and the coastlands, and for all of the Templar brothers in Tortosa for the period of ten complete, continuous and consecutive years and ten months.

The first part of that was on Wednesday, 5 Muḥarram, the year 681 of the Prophet Muḥammad's *hijra*, which was equivalent to 15 June, the year 1593 of Alexander son of Philip the Greek [April 22, 1282], for the lands of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, and the lands of his son Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ `Alā al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn `Alī—covering everything included in this realm, the Egyptian homelands, its provinces, borders and deserts, the Syrian lands, its borders, citadels, coastlands and deserts, the realm of Ḥimṣ, its lands, provinces, the citadels of the [Ismaili] mission,<sup>53</sup> its lands and provinces, the realm of Ṣahyūn, Balāṭinus, Jabala and Latakia, and what is connected to them, the realm of Ḥamāh, its lands and provinces, the realm of Aleppo, its provinces and lands, the Euphrates, its lands and provinces, the coastland conquests, the land of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, its lands and provinces, and what is included in it, ascribed to it, and considered part of it at the time of the establishment of this truce.

Namely, lands, villages, farmlands, fields, country-lands, towers, mills, and other places; the realm of Ṣāfītā, its lands, districts, villages, and walls, as well as the villages and lands that are established and adjacent to it to the end of the period [covered]; May`ār, and its districts; al-`Urayma, and its districts, what is established in it and ascribed to it; Jalbā/Ḥalbā,<sup>54</sup> and its districts; `Arqā, and its districts; Ṭayyibū, and its districts; the castle of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, its districts and lands; al-Qulay`āt, its districts and lands; and Maraḳiyya in its totality, and its lands.

[Included are] the lands of Marqab shared in an agreed condominium, and everything that was included in the truce with them established during the days of [al-Malik] al-Manṣūr, and all the near and far lands, contiguous, neighboring and anything else that is inhabited, fallow, level,

<sup>52</sup> Compare translation in Holt, *Early Mamluk*, pp. 66–68.

<sup>53</sup> Belonging to Isma`ilis.

<sup>54</sup> Following Holt.



rugged, land and sea, harbors and coastlands, and the mills, towers, gardens, rivers, waters, woods and reservoirs—everything that God will conquer at the hand of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, at the hand of his son, the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, at the hand of the commanders of his troops and armies.

[Meaning] fortresses, cities, castles, villages, the level [plain], mountain, inhabited and fallow, rivers, gardens, harbors, coastal plains, and dry land intervening, and upon Tortosa which is presently in the hand of the House of the Templars, the lands established until the end of the period [covered] by the establishment of this blessed truce, and the lands of al-ʿUrayma which are adjacent to it, [22] and Mayʿār, in accordance with the truce from the time of al-Zāhir [Baybars], which continues to be in force, and are 37 locations specified in the truce.

As for what the lands of our master the Sultan contain in their totality, on the part of the Grand Master Brother William of Beaujeu, commander of the Templars' House, and the rest of the brethren in Tortosa, including the horsemen, the turcoples, the knights, and all the types of Franks, no one from Tortosa and its lands, harbor, and coastal plains shall step into the lands of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr and his son the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, nor their castles, fortresses, their lands, or their farmlands, whether they are specified in this truce or not.

Tortosa and its lands specified in the truce, the brethren, knights, subjects and others residents or transients, are safe and tranquil from al-Malik al-Manṣūr, from his son, their armies, and those under their authority. None shall step into Tortosa, its lands or subjects doing harm or raiding until the expiration of this truce. This is conditional upon those forbidden activities continuing to be forbidden.

Also it is conditional upon that if a boat from the lands of our master the Sultan breaks apart or is defective, containing transients, and others from differing lands or people, in the harbor of Tortosa or its coastal plains, and dry lands contained within this truce, all within should be safe with respect to their lives, possessions, merchandise, baggage, and men [servants].<sup>55</sup>

If the owner of that [ship] which has broken apart or is defective is found, then his boat and possessions should be handed over to him. If he is lost through death or drowning, then it should be kept safe in its state, and

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<sup>55</sup> Holt reads this as *riḥāl*, “baggage,” which goes also with the previous *baḍāʿi*.

handed over to the deputies of our master the Sultan. This is applicable to the Tortosan boats breaking apart in the lands of our master the Sultan.

It is conditional upon no castle, tower or fortress being renovated in the specified Tortosan lands during this truce, nor shall any moat be dug for the purposes of fortification, nor anything else. [23]

### **The king of the Georgians is arrested, and victory over him, with the power of God**

In this year, it reached our master the Sultan that the king of the Georgians had set out from his land to be present at noble Jerusalem, and to return without anyone knowing about it. He was one of those who had sworn allegiance to, taken sides with, and followed the Tatars. His name was Touta Souta son of Kaliari,<sup>56</sup> and he was wounded by arrows in the neck; on his right hand there was a gold bracelet. He was approximately 40 years old, yellowish in color, black eyes, narrow forehead, and the name of his land is *ḥaṣḍūd*.<sup>57</sup>

He rode from the coastland of Būṭ,<sup>58</sup> and his companion was Ṭaybughā son of Ankawār (Ankward). His description was: a round face, with creases above his right and left eyes, a long beard, fair going to reddish, gross in body, but tall in stature.

Every time he would go somewhere, our master the Sultan would send [someone] to watch over him. Every place he went, reports would come back to our master the Sultan about him.

When he reached noble Jerusalem he, his companion, and his translator, the lord of Abkhāz,<sup>59</sup> were arrested, brought to the Egyptian homelands, then imprisoned there. This man [24] was the greatest aid-giver against the Muslims, the strongest of the unbelievers in fighting them, and the most significant in rendering assistance to the Tatars. Therefore, God was sufficient for his evil and caused him to perish.

During this year, envoys of the [Ismaili] mission were present traveling to the lord of Sīs [Armenia] from the mission's deputy, and it was decided to dwell with him for a period of two years. They brought 12,000 dirhams and 600 dirhams officially for the mission. These were carried to the noble treasury.

Then began the year 682 [1283].

On Thursday, the beginning of Muḥarram [April 1, 1283] the ruler of Ḥamāh came to the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, to the service of the Sultan

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<sup>56</sup> Who was almost certainly a nobleman, not the king. Dimitri II of Georgia (1270–89) was executed by the Mongols, who he had faithfully served: Donald Rayfield, *Edge of Empires: A History of Georgia* (London: Reaktion, 2012), pp. 135–7.

<sup>57</sup> Unidentified, perhaps the region of the Ćqondidi Monastery, towards Abkhazia.

<sup>58</sup> Probably Poti, on the coast of the Black Sea.

<sup>59</sup> On the Black Sea.

in Cairo. Our master the Sultan rode to greet him personally, with customary goodness and good-treatment. He domiciled him at Views of the Ram (Manāzīr al-Qabsh),<sup>60</sup> as was customary, honoring him and benefiting him.

Provisions (*iqāmāt*) for the soldiers of all different types were transported to him, of everything that would befit honoring something with its like—of that which treated well and beautified by the nobility of his origin, the greatness and totality of respect on the part of all his emirs, retinue and the kings of his family.

When he had settled in, he presented a quantity of marked horses, fabrics and goods, all of which was good, so it was received from him. His opinion was solicited in everything, and he continued in the service of our master the Sultan for every riding forth and camping, being present and dwelling [with him].

When our master the Sultan went to al-Buḥayra to supervise the digging of the canal known as al-Ṭīriyya he went in his service, and attended the work himself and his soldiers (*aṣḥāb*). He returned to the service of our master the Sultan, to Cairo, [25] and then in bounty and expensive robes belonging to him, his brother and his son the Sultan al-Malik al-Muzaffar, his emirs, and all of his soldiers.

A quantity of prized possessions and great treasure was transported to him, and so he went on his way, bestowed with gifts, pleased, and happy on Tuesday, 4 Ṣafar [May 4, 1283], after he was honored by robes of honor a number of times, him and those with him.

120,000 dirhams were conveyed to him in one sitting, not to speak of the saddled pure-bred horses on a day of playing in jousting (*al-kirra*) for him and those with him—a number of the full-blooded and noble horses.

**Mention of our master the Sultan's going, him with his children and all of his armies, to al-Buḥayra, to dig the canal known as al-Ṭīriyya. This was to develop the lands and to make them beneficial**

Since our master the Sultan had dwelled during this period in the Egyptian homelands, one benefit did not distract him from another, nor the distant from the close, the far-off from the near.

He continued to consider the issues of the lands of al-Buḥayra, as during the preceding era it had been the bread-basket and provision-source of the Egyptian homelands, but that unirrigated lands, fallow and unproductive [land] had taken over it. Thus it had become a grazing-ground for the Bedouin, for their quadrupeds, and fallen into disuse.

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<sup>60</sup> On Mt. Yashkur, al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāt*, ii, pp. 441–6, iii, pp. 360–1; according to al-Ṣafadī, *Nuzhat al-mamālik* (Beirut: Dār al-ʿAṣriyya, 2003), p. 215 (for the year 714/1314) the *awlād Berke* are put up there a generation later.

He was told of this narrative at the place known as al-Ṭīriyya—that it had become obscure and silted up due to the passing of time, and neither landowner nor tenant could do anything to work it.

Whenever someone worked to loosen it [the canal] he would not be finished during a year, so then the Nile would flood when he had not been able to complete [the task] whereupon the mud would be deposited on it, and all the effort would be wasted.

He sent to the governors of the Baḥrī side [of the Nile] to make available men, workmen, and oxen. He promised them that he would himself come out with his armies. So he did, accompanied by al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the ruler of Ḥamāh, just as we mentioned, and the kings, his sons, all the emirs and courtiers, the troops and armies.

He went on 5 Muḥarram [April 5, 1283], and came to the place on Thursday, the 8th [April 8, 1283]. At that time he took part in the work personally, and the riding personally. He divided the work among all the people by measure (*qaṣaba*),<sup>61</sup> [26] and each emir and commander gathered with his group and his mamluks. Some of them even hired people trying to finish quickly and to demonstrate interest and initiative.

The Sultan expended stipends, visiting the sick and treating people well. Foodstuffs were made for all who were near to the work, especially those close to our master the Sultan, who closely attended the work personally, together with the junior sultans, his sons, and his personal mamluks.

This was something to be seen, as the entire world gathered, and the dust rose at the marching bands (*tablkhānāt*) in every place. The Arabs and others dwelling close by attended. So the job was completed in the shortest possible time. What was accomplished was in 10 days 6503 *qaṣabas* in length were worked,<sup>62</sup> four wide, and two or more deep, depending on the lay of the land.

So he returned on Sunday 18 Muḥarram [April 18, 1283], giving the armies permission (*dustūr*) to go to their fiefs. The Sultan arrived at his citadel on Wednesday 21 Muḥarram [April 21, 1283]. God caused this work to yield benefits, and the [previously] unirrigated lands were irrigated. The people very much desired to go to their agricultural plots, so they came from every direction. Thus, the land was settled, and its agricultural productivity increased. This was a blessing from inspired action.

During these days al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the ruler of Ḥamāh, was present at the formal session (*khidma*) of our master the Sultan in Damascus. This was on 16 Jumādā al-Ākhira [September 11, 1283]. He was honored as usual, given service, and showered with all manner of honorary gifts, him and those with him. He returned to his realm on 9 Rajab of that year [October 3, 1283]. Our master the Sultan initiated going out to al-Marj and staying there,

<sup>61</sup> 3.55 meters.

<sup>62</sup> Approximately 22.75 kilometers.

hunting, bestowing robes of honor, and gracious benefits. So his gifts were widespread, and his goodness to all the people. No one was left without gracious benefits or respect, and he stayed that way for the duration of his stay in Syria-Palestine, together with his various hunting expeditions in a number of directions. [27]

### **Mention of the conquest of the castle of Qaḫīnā from the hand of the abandoned enemy**

In this castle there is an impressive border fortress (*thaghr*), which is strong. In the deep past it was considered to be among the castles of Amad, then it passed into the hands of the kings of the [Seljuq] Rūm, then to the abandoned enemy [Mongols]. In it are their deputies, and it is one of the bases for their waging war.

It was never taken by siege, ever, and never has there been a more dangerous fortress to Karkar, constructed more harmfully. Since the dominion returned to our master the Sultan, he continually had been sunk in thought about these border fortresses, to weaken, hem them in, and even turn the allegiance of those in them.

Deputies continually would sometimes treat them gently and well, but other times treat them harshly, and once frighten them, to demonstrate its absence of any storehouses. So he dispatched from the garrison of Karkar approximately 100 foot-soldiers under a deputy, and they descended upon it, guarding against it, because of its closeness to them. This was because it was on the side of the Euphrates [River], on the eastern bank.

When its people saw they were hemmed in, and the fact that the enemy had departed from them, with no one left to render them aid, they stayed for a time on the border fortress, eating skins because of the lack of food. They had no option but to beg the noble Sultanic mercies. So an answer was obtained for that.

The deputies of our master the Sultan received the border fortress on Thursday, 19 Rabī' al-Ākhir 683 [July 5, 1284], and a group was dispatched from Karkar to it. From each border fortress—such as al-Bīra, 'Ayntāb and al-Rāwandān—a group of men was demanded for [the garrisoning] of this border fortress. They were present to garrison this border fortress. Everything that this border fortress needed as far as provisions, stores, olive oil, arrows, *tawānit*,<sup>63</sup> spears and other supplies and war-implements was provided.

Those trusted reliable cunning men were placed at the disposal of this border fortress because of the raids upon Āmad and al-Suwaydā' and other

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<sup>63</sup> Unexplained. Possibly a fixed crossbow, in which case the word might be related to *turno balistarum* (David Nicolle, *Arms & Armour of the Crusading Era 1050–1350* (London: Greenhill, 1999)), gloss. s.v. if one assumes that the *waw* of the word is really a *ra-*, in which case the end *ta* would be reread as a *ba*, and the word could have been a contraction. Perhaps this could even be a by-form of the word *trebuchet* in one of its many forms, although again it would have to be repointed.

locations. Honorary presents were sent to its notables, and amounts of dirhams for them to be satisfied. All of this was authorized.

The stores increased [28] in this fortress. Out-riders (*mujarridūn*) were dispatched, and an advance payment of two months was designated from the daily allowances and the regular pay. Magazines of weapons were provided for them from Damascus, armories from Genoa, bows, swords, arrows, ropes, and implements for mangonels, (portable?) mangonels (*manjanīqiyya*), snares (*sarbāqāt*),<sup>64</sup> and other things of every type.

It was established among one of the formidable fortresses of Islam, their beneficial storehouses, and collective fighting bases.

### **Mention of the conquest of the border-fortress of al-Kakhtā and rescuing it from the unbelievers' hands**

This fortress is among the greatest,<sup>65</sup> most deeply planted, loftiest, and perfect of them, made of rock towering into the skies. An archer cannot reach it when he shoots from below it, as his arrow will only reach partway up the rock. It is protected on its other sides as well. It has a bastion (*bāshūra*) that is indescribable. It has a palace for the Sultan's deputy, who passes judgement from this border fortress. Around it there are fire-holes (*ādūr*) and fast-vessels (*tayyārat*), windows extending the height of the castle.

Inside are houses and dwellings, approximately 70 dwellings, and it is three levels: two vaulted levels and one roofed. Inside it are roomy and wide places for armory-factories (*zardkhānāt*). There are also vaulted granaries for stores; also an impressive cistern for water. There are six towers (*abrija*) to this castle, plus the bastion, and ten curtain walls (*badanat*), the height of each curtain wall is 18 fathoms (108 ft/33 meters).

It is locked against everyone by a small gate [29] high from the castle some 20 levels (*daraja*) in the rock. Then one descends to the larger castle. The height from under the castle to the end of it named the New Castle is 250 fathoms (1500 ft/457 meters). In it there are houses and dwellings, approximately 270 houses and dwellings. It is also three levels, with two vaulted levels and one roofed.

All of this is upon lofty high rock that seems to have no end in a deep valley filled with water. From it an underground passage descends to a vault made with towers and battlements (*sharārīf*) some 470 steps to the water, with two locked gates there.

In the first part of the city, which is underneath the castle, there are two towers, and curtain-walls with tall battlements. The number of battlements

<sup>64</sup> See Syriac *sharbōqiyyā* "noose, snare."

<sup>65</sup> Located in southern Turkey of today. It commanded the mountain-passes between the Il-Khanids in Iraq and Anatolia.

from under the castle to the end of it just from the western angle is 250, with the same from the eastern.

This castle has a passageway (*darkāh*) entrance with three gates, with its gate opening to the north, while inside the passageway entrance there is an armory. Then one exits from the gate in the passageway entrance descending to the lower section, to a courtyard (*hūsh*) which is attached to the castle on a rock with a moat that is approximately 10 fathoms (60 ft/18.3 meters), with six towers and seven curtain-walls, with two locked gates. It has a bridge by which one can exit to the lower cattle-pen.

Because this castle is in this form with regard to fortification and strength, and because it is in the unbelievers' gullet in this form, our master the Sultan made efforts to obtain it, and gave every resource to that end. He commanded the deputies to work to suborn it, with good promises to those in it, so that many were undertaking this [effort].

They agreed to kill al-Shujā' Mūsā, the deputy in it, and put in his place a man named Badr al-Dīn. At that time [30] they sent three people to the deputy in protected Aleppo, among them the [Mongol] governor's brother, so the situation with regard to the *iqṭā'* fiefs, the honorary gifts and the quantity of money was decided, as well as delivery of the armory-factories (*zardkhānāt*) and treasures which were in the castle.

He sent the emir Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ṣarawī, the emir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars *al-silaḥdār*, the emir Shams al-Dīn Aqush al-Shamsī al-'Ayntābī to receive them, together with honorary gifts, robes of honor, the weapons magazine (*khizāna*), and horses. Those who would take their oaths were also sent on their way, so they swore oaths to our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr and to his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ. So the previously mentioned fortress was handed over, and those in it went to have bounty bestowed upon them, group after group.

They were presented and our master the Sultan treated them well, giving them *iqṭā'* fiefs to those worthy of receiving them, so armories and war implements of all types were supplied to it, and men were sent to it. It was also provided with a deputy from the noble sultanic gates, and that was Jumādā al-Ulā year 683 [July–August 1284].

It continued as a lump in the unbelievers' chest, and a cleavage in their gullets, so these castles, which are Karkar, Qaṭīnā, and al-Kakhtā, became linked together, with their belief being one, resolution being mutually supported, so these fortresses encroached upon Bahsanā, upon the ruler of Sīs, upon the [Seljuq] Rūm, and in every [other] direction.

Our master the Sultan assigned to these fortresses whatever they told him they needed in terms of storehouses, treasuries, armories, and men. Mutual aid between them was consistently supplied, and raids against the enemy were assigned—praise be to God for that! Belief in Islam ruled in the fortresses of the abandoned enemy, and every footstep brought hoped-for aid closer to them. Good administration obtained for them that which neither siege nor



encampment could, and the conquests were just the beginning, if God wills. For that, if God wills, the credit belongs to the rule of our master the Sultan, but success is from God.

### **Mention of raiding in the lands of Sīs [Armenia] from the direction of the Aleppo realm and what happened as a result**

Our master the Sultan issued a decree to the deputy in Aleppo to devote himself to raiding in the lands of Sīs [31] to take revenge (*nikāya*) upon its ruler, Leon [III], for the aggression he had committed in Aleppo, which we have mentioned, by burning its Friday mosque and other parts.<sup>66</sup>

The victorious army rode to it from Aleppo. When it was 23 Şafar [May 23, 1283] of that year the letter of the governor in Aleppo arrived, and it contained the [names of] senior emirs who were dispatched from Aleppo to Sīs. They had gone to the lands of Sīs, had entered them with the sword, and gone towards the city of Ayās.

They found its people having fortified themselves inside of it. This was on the Sunday night 10 Şafar [May 10, 1283]. Their foot soldiers and fighters remained outside the city, preventing access to it, and guarding. The victorious armies attacked it, and defeated them [the people of Ayās], and assembled them at the port. They killed a large number at the gate, and besieged them there.

The armies went back and forth in the city, plundering it, and destroying all of it. They spent the night close by, and woke up determined to depart. When it was Monday, they arrived close to the pass [Darbsāk?]; they had already sent out scouts (*kashāfa*). When the reconnaissance party returned, they said that they had personally seen a great multitude from the direction of Tell Ḥamdūn.

That army had already arrived at the Gate of Iskandarūna. In the vanguard there was the emir Jamāl al-Dīn al-Şarū[r]ī, the emir Shihāb al-Dīn Marwān and the emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Şarūrī, and a number [of others]. They halted, and took the position of ambush (*hāl*).

Suddenly the army of Sīs approached trying to catch the [Mamluk] army, so they took positions and waited close to the Gate of Iskandarūna until the skirmishing started. The Muslims defeated them, by the power of God Most High. A number were pulled off their horses, and they pursued [32] them from al-Bī'āt to Tell Ḥamdūn.

By then it was nighttime so the army halted, but a unit of the army pursued a group of the Armenians. The former came across an advance guard (*tulb*) of Armenians, approximately 500 fighters. When the latter saw the former behind their retreating fellows, they also retreated. That was after the last nightfall prayer (*al-'ishā'*).

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<sup>66</sup> Referring to a no-longer extant part of the text.

The army spent the night at the Gate of Iskandarūna, and woke up on Sunday searching for stragglers. The Armenians had heard of the movements of the victorious army during the 10-day period. So Leon [III], the ruler of Sīs, mustered, mobilized, sought aid, utilized—and among the number of those arrested was a senior [commander] man from the soldiers of the ruler of Sīs because of this disaster. It was said that they were 10,000 fighters.

This prisoner had his head cut off; when a man had his head cut off, he said, “I am a senior commander, so do not abuse me.” However, they did not pay any attention to his words.

The raiders (*ghayyāra*) reached Jahān River, and when they emerged they ran into some of the Armenian army. Then they killed the latter, took their horses, and followed them for a distance of half a day. The victorious [Mamluk] armies returned with riches and booty. None of the victorious army perished.

On Thursday 26 of the month Rabī` al-Awwal [June 24, 1283] our master the Sultan sat in the noble Justice House (*dār al-`adl*) in the Hill Citadel, and the emirs, notables, judges, and imams were present—everything as usual in the noble Justice House.

It was proclaimed in Cairo and Old Cairo that whoever had a complaint, let him attend! Therefore, the people attended, and the petitions were read before our master the Sultan. He commanded with regard to them and forbade, met them, comprehending them immediately, and returned them to their owners.

Complaints of the wronged were presented to him, and read before him, and he investigated them himself. People spoke of his justice and fairness, and there was general calling of blessing upon him, so everyone was satisfied. Whomever had a creditor satisfied him, and every emir about whom a petition was lifted was brought to him, he ordered them to uphold the truth and fairness. This day finished off with good things, good treatment, and the best of charity.

### **Mention of the victorious army going in the direction of Kerak to besiege it**

We have mentioned a small number of our master the Sultan’s steadfastnesses with the deceased al-Malik al-Zāhir [Baybars’] progeny and the sum total [33] of what he gave them to govern. He joined them together with family. There had been reconciliation, peacefulness that had been agreed with al-Malik al-Mas`ūd, son of al-Malik al-Zāhir. This had been the status quo—to which was added his brother Salāmish and the children of al-Malik al-Sa`īd being sent to him, together with a group of his sisters, his mother, and those connected with them.

This had been in return for nothing more than safety and tranquility on their part. Burdens of their properties in Syria and Egypt were transported to them, which were treasuries of possessions. They completed the first parts (of

the understanding), and at that point were presented to the emir `Alā' al-Dīn Aydughdī al-Ḥarrānī, the Sultan's deputy in Kerak.

He was presented during the first ten days of the month of Rabī' al-Awwal of this year [June 1283]. He discussed their vandalism and antagonistic situations—mentioning these issues not merely once—writing to our master the Sultan. The latter forbade these matters, and made clear to them the consequences of rebellion (*baghī*) from which the mark of protection is removed.

However, the matter only got worse on their part, with the agreements becoming worthless. This happened while the Sultan was cautioning them, and even by God, beseeching them! Therefore, when the matter deteriorated still further, our master the Sultan dispatched an army commanded by the emir Badr al-Dīn Baktāsh, *amīr silāḥ* (armorer).

They went on their way on 3 Rabī' al-Awwal [June 1, 1283] of this year, proceeding in the guise of those nearby camping [at the fortress] rather than those besieging it, since perhaps they [the Kerakans] might repent. He [the sultan] commanded him to remonstrate with them so they would listen, so he did remonstrate and put the fear of God into them, but they did not listen, but manifested stubbornness and intransigence.

They did not return to loyalty, so the army stayed in those areas for a time, while they implicated themselves by descending and killing, making provocations and then complaining, while our master the Sultan was expecting for them to come back (to obedience), and to answer nicely.

When aggression on their part increased, the armies began to use the farmlands around them for pasture, and continued to camp there until our master the Sultan proceeded to Syria, then went, demanding for a group of them [to present themselves]. A group of the victorious army was dispatched in the direction of Shawbak, in accordance with what we will relate. [34]

### The Truce of Acre

During this year, our master the Sultan took heed of the inhabitants of Acre's request, as their envoys had repeatedly gone to his formal banquets in Syria and Egypt, for a truce. They were forbidden from presenting themselves on land; they could only present themselves when they wanted from the direction of the sea. The last part of the issue was that they were at his mercy (*nazalū `alā ḥukmihi*)<sup>67</sup> because they had waited too long after the conclusion of the Zāhirī [Baybars'] truce.

When it was Ṣafar [April 1283] of this year their envoys and nobles presented themselves, and concluded the truce. Our master the Sultan swore to it in the presence of the Frankish envoys, who were two men from the Templars, brethren, and two men from the Hospitallers, brethren, two knights from the

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<sup>67</sup> A technical term from the legal literature on *jihād*.

royal territories, William [of Beaujeu], governor of governors, and the minister Fahd, which was:<sup>68</sup>

Truce between our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr<sup>69</sup> and his son Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, 'Alā' al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, 'Alī, may God immortalize their sultanate, and the rulers in the realm of Acre, Sidon, 'Athlīth, and the lands which concluded this truce.

These are: the Seneschal [35] Odo, *bailli* of the realm in Acre, the Commander Brother William of Beaujeu, Master of the Templars' House, the Commander Brother Nicholas Lorgne, Master of the Hospitallers' House, the Marshal Brother Conrad [of Feuchtwangen?], the deputy master of the Teutonic Knights.<sup>70</sup>

Peace, for a period of ten complete years, ten months, ten days and ten hours, the first of which will be Thursday 5 Rabī' al-Awwal 682 from the Prophet [Muḥammad's] *hijra* [June 10, 1283], which corresponds to 3 Ḥazīrān 1594 from the conquest of Alexander, son of Philip the Greek.

Upon all the lands of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr and his son the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ 'Alā' al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn 'Alī, all the castles, fortresses, lands, realms, districts, cities, villages, farmlands, and land, which is the realm of the Egyptian homelands, the coastal borders, castles, and Islamic fortresses in it, the coastal border of Dimyāṭ [Damietta], the coastal border of Alexandria, Nastarawa, Santariyya, and the ports, coastlands and dry lands that are ascribed to it, the coastal border of Fuwwa, the coastal border of Rosetta, the lands of [36] the Ḥijāz;

The coastal border of protected Gaza, the ports and lands that are in it, the realms of Kerak and Shawbak, and their districts, al-Ṣalt and its districts, Buṣrā and its districts, the realm of al-Khalīl [Hebron], may the prayers and peace of God be on it, the realm of noble Jerusalem (*al-Quds*) and its districts, al-Urdunn, Bethlehem, and its districts, all of what is in it and considered to be part of it, Bayt Jibrīl, the realm of Nablus, and its districts, the realm of al-Aṭrūn [Latrun], and its districts, Ashkelon, and its districts, ports and coastlands, the realm of Jaffa, and al-Ramla,

<sup>68</sup> Compare Holt, *Early Mamluk*, pp. 73–87, at 73 he notes the two other versions of this treaty in Ibn al-Furāt and al-Qalqashandī (which have oaths not contained in this version), and different translations of it, cf. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (London: Routledge & KeganPaul, 1969), pp. 326–31.

<sup>69</sup> It is curious that the text does not give Qalāwūn's full name and titles the way that the other treaties do, and the way that al-Ṣāliḥ's title is provided.

<sup>70</sup> Who later became the master 1290–96.

its port, and its districts, Arsuf, and its districts and port, Caesarea, and its port, [37] coastlands and districts, the castle of Qāqūn, and its districts and lands, Lydda, and its districts, the districts of al-`Awjā and its salt-pans, the lands conquered during the time of [al-Malik] al-Sa`īd,<sup>71</sup> its districts and farmlands, Beth-Shean, and its districts and lands, al-Ṭūr,<sup>72</sup> and its districts, al-Lajjūn, and its districts, Jinīn, and its districts, `Ayn Jālūt, and its districts, al-Qaymūn, its district and what is ascribed to it, Tiberias, its lake [the Sea of Galilee], its districts, and what is with them, the realm of Safed, and what is ascribed to it, Tibnīn and Hūnīn, and the lands and districts that they have, the rock known as al-Shaqīf Arnūn, and the lands and districts that it has;

Half of the city of Iskandarūna, half of the property of Māran, with its villages, [38] vineyards, gardens, fields, and (the districts of Iskandarūna) that are beyond that, all of that shall be in its boundaries, and its lands belong to our master the Sultan and his son, while the other half belong to the realm of Acre, al-Biqā` al-`Azīzī, and its districts, Mashgharā, and its districts, Shaqīf Tīrīn, and its districts (all of its habitations, in Zalāyā and others, Bāniyās, and its districts), the castle of al-Ṣubayba, with the lakes it has, and its districts, Kawkab, and its districts, and what it has, the castle of `Ajlūn, and its districts;

Damascus, and the Damascan realm, the castles, lands, realms, and districts that it has, the castle of Ba`lbak, what it has and its districts, the realm of Ḥimṣ, the districts and boundaries that it has, the realm of Ḥamāh, its city, its castle, its lands, and its boundaries, Balaṭīnus, and its districts, Ṣahyūn, and its districts, Burziyya, and its districts, the conquests of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād/Krak des Chevaliers, and its districts, Ṣāfītā, and its districts, Mī`ār, and its districts, al-`Urayma, and its districts, Qadfiya, and its districts, Maraḳiyya/Maraclea,<sup>73</sup> and its districts, Aleppo and its districts, the fortress of `Akkār, and its districts and lands, al-Qulay`a, and its districts, the castle of Shayzar, and its districts, Afāmiya, and its districts, Jabala, [39] and its districts, Abu Qubays and its districts;

The Aleppan realm, and the castles, cities, lands and fortresses that are adjacent to it, Antioch, and its districts, and what is listed under the blessed conquests, Baghrās, and its districts, al-Darbsāk, and its districts, al-Rāwandān, and its districts, Jāzim/Ḥārim, and its districts, `Ayntāb, and its districts, Tīzīn, and its districts, Sīḥ/Shīḥ al-Ḥadīd, and its districts, the castle of Najm, and its districts, Shaqīf Dayr Kūsh, and its districts,

<sup>71</sup> Baybars' son and successor.

<sup>72</sup> Probably Mt. Tabor.

<sup>73</sup> It is odd that Maraclea is included here, as it was not taken until 1286.

al-Shughr, and its districts, Bakās, and its districts, al-Suwayda', and its districts, al-Bāb and Buzā`ā, and their districts, al-Bīra, and its districts, al-Raḥba, and its districts, Salamiyya, and its districts, Shumaymis, and its districts, and Tadmur, and its districts, and everything that is ascribed to it.

Everything that was specified or not specified to the rulers of the realm of Acre, who are the *bailli* of the realm, the commander, Brother William of Beaujeu, Master of the Templars' House, the commander Brother Nicholas Lorgne, Master of the Hospitallers' House, the marshal Brother Conrad [of Feuchtwangen?], deputy Master of the Teutonic Knights, from all the Franks, the brethren, the knights who are under their command, encompassing all their coastal realm, from all the various Franks, who have taken residence in Acre and the coastal lands who fall under this truce, and those who arrive by either land or sea, from their various ethnicities, and types.

None will attack the lands of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the lands of his son the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, nor the fortresses of the two of them, [40] their castles, their lands, their properties, their armies, their troops, their Arabs, Turkmen, Kurds, subjects, according to their various ethnicities, and types, encompassing quadrupeds, possessions, stores, and other things with harm, evil, raiding, harassment, or handling harmfully.

In the same way, any lands, fortresses, castles, property, provinces either on land or at sea, on flat land or mountainous, that our master Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr and his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ should seek to conquer, either themselves or their armies, or deputies.

In the same way all the lands of the Franks upon which this truce is established now in the coastal lands, which are the city of Acre, its gardens, its lands, and its mills, and those vineyards that are specified for it, and the different concessions it has around it, these are continued by this truce. In addition, the fodder in the farms which are 73 properties belonging specifically to the Franks.

Thus, Haifa, the vineyards, gardens, and fodder in Haifa, which is seven properties, in the same way Mārsā, with its land known to belong to the Franks, and Dayr al-Siyāj, Dayr Mār Ilyās belong to the Franks. Belonging solely to our master the Sultan from the lands of [Mt.] Carmel are `A[s]fiyya and al-Manṣūra, and the remainder of the lands of [Mt.] Carmel, which are 13 properties belonging to the Franks.

`Athlīth, the castle and the city, the gardens which are cultivated, and its peasants and lands belong to it. There are 16 properties belonging to it, and belonging solely to our master the Sultan is what is mentioned, which

is Qariyat al-Harāmīs, in its entirety, its concessions, and its farmlands. The rest of the lands of `Athlīth are worked jointly, other than what is specifically for the state. What is specifically `Athlīth and worked jointly are 8 properties, and the Hospitallers' peasants working in Caesarea specifically for the Franks on what is in it.

Half the city of Iskandarūna and half Qariyat Māran in what belongs to the Franks that is in it; what is beyond that is specifically belonging to our master the Sultan. Whatever concessions are in Iskandarūna and Qariyat Māran, [41] and the storehouses will be worked jointly.

Sidon, the castle and the city, vineyards, and outskirts, all that is ascribed to it is specifically belonging to the Franks, and specifically it has 15 properties, plus those rivers, waters, springs, gardens and mills, canals, flowing waters and dams that are under usage, belong to them, and are traditionally utilized for irrigating their lands that specifically belong to them. Whatever hill-country is beyond that all of it belongs to our master the Sultan and his son in its totality.

These Acran lands and what is specified in this truce are safe from our master the Sultan, from his son, and from his armies and troops (these lands are delineated inside this blessed truce). Whatever is specific and whatever is worked jointly is safe and tranquil, and those on them.

It is strictly not allowed for the Franks to renovate anything outside of the walls of Acre, `Athlīth, or Sidon, in these three regions, [neither] walls, nor castle, tower, or fortress, old or new.

On the condition that the galleys of our master the Sultan, and those of his son, wherever they are constructed and depart will not be harassed harmfully by the coastal lands that have concluded this truce. Whenever these galleys go in a different direction the ruler of that region if he is allied with the rulers of the realm of Acre then they will not enter the lands that have concluded the truce, nor take provisions from them.

If the ruler of that region in which the galleys go is not allied with the rulers of the realm of Acre, then they can enter into that land and take provision from it, and if anything of these galleys should break apart, God forbid, in one of the ports that has concluded the truce or its coastlands, and if it is going towards someone who is allied with the realm of Acre, or with its commander, William [of Beaujeu?],<sup>74</sup> the *bailli* of the

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<sup>74</sup> So Holt, except that William of Beaujeu was not the *bailli*.



realm of Acre, and the Houses [Templars and Hospitallers] will guard it, and ensure that its men have provision, the ability to repair what has fallen apart in it, and safely return to the Islamic lands.

It is null and void to move what has broken of the ship or to throw it into the sea. If there is no alliance with the one to whom the galley is destined, [42] and it breaks apart, then it has the right to provisions, and for its men to be domiciled in a land that has concluded the truce, and then to be sent to the region commanded. This provision shall be applicable to both sides.

On the condition that if one of the Frankish sea-kings<sup>75</sup> or others were to move through the sea intending to harm our master the Sultan or his son in their lands upon which have concluded this truce, William, the deputy of the realm, and the commanders in Acre will notify (*ta`rīf*) our master the Sultan of their movement prior to their arrival to the lands by the period of two months. If they arrive after the lapse of two months then the *bailli* of the realm of Acre William and the commanders will be not held accountable under their oath for this section.

If an enemy from the Tatars or others moves from the land direction, whichever of the two sides receives [the news] first should notify the other. On the condition that an enemy from the Tatars or others target the Syrian lands, God forbid, on land, and the armies' successes precede them, and the enemy arrives close to the coastal lands covered by this truce, and intends harm to them, then *bailli* of the realm of Acre and the commanders should defend themselves, their subjects and lands by any means available to them.

If a stampede occurs, God forbid, from the Islamic lands to the coastal lands covered by this truce, then the *bailli* of the realm of Acre and the commanders are obligated to guard them, defend them, and stop those who are attacking them harmfully, so that they will be safe and tranquil with those who are with them.

The deputy of the realm in Acre and the commanders are obliged to instruct the rest of the coastal lands upon which this truce is applicable that sea-piracy to take provisions is not acceptable, nor upon one who is carrying water. If they capture one of them [pirates] they should arrest him, if they sell goods among them, they should be held until their [rightful] owner presents himself and they be handed over to him. In the same way, this is applicable to our master the Sultan concerning the matter of sea-piracy.

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<sup>75</sup> Probably the reference was to Charles of Anjou.

On the condition that the Church of Nazareth, and the four closest hospices (*buyūt*) are for the visitation of pilgrims and others, from the Religion of the Cross [Christianity], great and small, according to their various ethnicities and types, from Acre and the coastal lands that are covered by this truce.

Priests and monks shall pray in the church [43] and dwell in the hospices for the visitors to the Church of Nazareth specifically. They will be safe and tranquil in their setting out, and their presenting themselves at the borders of the lands covered by this truce. If one of the stones from the church falls, it should be thrown out, and no stone shall be placed upon another stone for the purposes of construction. None shall harass the priests and monks in this with an illicit gift.

The truce contains an explication of the conditions' continuance that usually apply.

When our master the Sultan swore his oath upon this truce, he sent the emir Fakhr al-Dīn Ayyāz, the emir chamberlain, and the judge Badr al-Dīn Ibn Razīn to take the oaths of the Franks, so they swore and everything was in order.

### **Mention of our master the Sultan's going to the protected Syrian lands during this year**

Then our master the Sultan, may God make his sultanate eternal, wrote orders for the emirs and the troops to appear for departure to protected Syria for the benefit of the land and the servants [Muslims]. This was because he bestowed mercy wherever he went, and because doing this would lessen the ruination on the part of the enemy, and bring about calmness.

When it was 15 Jumādā al-Ulā [August 11, 1283] our master the Sultan, may God make his victory eternal, rode from his citadel and camped outside the Victory Gate. He moved on the 18th [August 14, 1283], going and settling in Gaza on 7 Jumādā al-Ākhira [September 2, 1283], and then going from it on Tuesday the 28th [September 23, 1283], and entering Damascus on Friday 8 Rajab [October 2, 1283].

Therefore, he stayed in it straightening out its troops, and causing panic in the direction of the enemy's lands, both near and far. His eye was sometimes studying the direction of the Persians, `Irāq and the east, sometimes the direction of [Seljuq] Rūm and [Armenian] Sīs, while sometimes to the west, Yemen and to India.

His orders went forth with every benefit and good interest. It reached him that Shaykh `Abd al-Raḥmān was present as an envoy to his gates on behalf of the king Aḥmad, so he freed up a time for him to present himself.

When he did not present himself, he took up the reins to the Egyptian homelands in peace, watchfulness and victory, glory, capability, and effective

command, just as the full moon passes from lunar mansion to lunar mansion, and the sun from season to season. So he entered his citadel on 25 Ramaḍān [December 17, 1283] of this year. [44]

### **Mention of the interest in the scribal letters of our master al-Malik al-Ashraf, son of our master the Sultan**

During this period there was growing interest in the marriage of our master al-Malik al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn Khalīl to the daughter of the emir Sayf al-Dīn Nogai, the in-law of his brother. When it was 16 Shawwāl [January 7, 1284] the people gathered just as they did for engagement of his brother the heir-apparent Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ `Alā' al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn.

They celebrated with (expensive) items (*umūr*), candles, extravagances, incense, foods, and saucer-bowls (*sukarj*), just as they had celebrated previously. This engagement was accomplished in the presence of our master the Sultan, and he entered into his house, as usual, without making a fuss (*rahaḡ*) or bothering anybody.

During this period the Shaykh `Abd al-Raḡmān and Ṣamadāḡhū entered Damascus, on Tuesday 2 Dhū al-Ḥijja [February 21, 1284], and they stayed at the protected citadel.

### **Mention of the conquest of Tunis by the insignia of our master the Sultan and his noble name**

When our master the Sultan returned from the blessed raiding the Tatars, he found envoys at his gates who had come from [45] the emir Margham b. Ṣābir, the emir of western Tripoli and its lands. Thousands upon thousands of its Bedouin had gathered to him, so they presented themselves at the gates of our master the Sultan.

With them there were gifts of fast (*sawābiq*) horses, and a letter from the emir Margham, inviting our master the Sultan to conquer the lands of the west, and asking him to expedite his noble standard (*ṣanjaq*), by which the lands would be conquered.

Our master the Sultan honored his envoys, giving them good hospitality, and sent a splendid robe to him, with fabrics, and loads of goods, all valuable. However, our master the Sultan made it clear that he was engrossed in the sacral fighting (*jihād*) against the Tatars.

He urged him to stand forth, as the determination of our master the Sultan and his name would clarify all obscurities. Then his envoys delivered our master the Sultan's letters and his spoken words to him. He [the sultan] and a rebel known as al-Faḡl b. al-Makhlū' of the children of Abū Zakariyā Yaḡyā, son of the ruler of Tūnis who had rebelled in that area came to an agreement.

The emir Margham then had the Bedouin join him, and they headed towards Tūnis.<sup>76</sup> They dressed him in the honorary robe of our master the Sultan which had been sent to Margham b. Ṣābir, and encased his head in the standard that our master the Sultan sent to Margham, showing the name of our master, the Sultan

He conquered Tūnis, whose ruler, Abū Ishāq was inside of it, who then beat a retreat to Najāba where his son Abū Fāris was [located]. The emir Margham gathered the reserves and went to Najāba, where Abū Fāris met him in battle with a large army. Abū Fāris was defeated, and he was killed, together with his brother and father—his father was killed in Najāba.

Their heads were sent and hung on the Lighthouse Gate (*bāb al-manāra*)—one of the gates of Tūnis<sup>77</sup>—so the rule of al-Faḍl b. al-Makhlū' became complete in Tūnis and its lands, in the name of our master the Sultan, his honorary gift (*tashrīf*) and his standard, which is the very essence (*khulūq*) of victory, and the herald of the Victorious One of this age.

Wine was guaranteed [to be sold], so he cancelled that, and he ordered the hostel (*funduq*) in which wine had been sold to be rebuilt as a religious school (*madrasa*). All of that was because of the blessing of our master the Sultan's name, and the felicity of his noble knowledge.

*O you who God decreed to rule the earth, hasten! For in every quarter you are expected.*

When the situation of al-Faḍl b. al-Makhlū' in Tūnis stabilized, he treated those who helped him well. They were the emir Margham [46], the emir Abū Marwān Ibn Makkī, shaykh of Fez. The patronymic of Abū Marwān was Abū al-Fatḥ, while that of the emir Margham was Abū al-Wafā'.

He wrote a proclamation for him in west Tripoli, which its date was read as 27 Dhū al-Qa`da the year 681 [March 28, 1283]. He arrested Abū al-Layl son of Aḥmad shaykh of (the tribe) `Awf, and 100 of the Bedouin shaykhs. God made it the first felicity, and the best intention! This news arrived in Jumādā al-Ākhira year 682 [September 1283].

### Mention of the jurists' presence ...

... from the Qipchaq as envoys from the king Taman-Mānggū,<sup>78</sup> a close relative of the king Berke, proclaiming his sitting [on the throne] and his conversion to Islam.

<sup>76</sup> The contemporary account of al-Dabbāgh (d. 696/1297), Ma`ālim al-īmān fi ma`rifat ahl Qayrawān (Eds. Muḥammad and `Abd al-`Azīz al-Majdūb, Tunis: al-Maktaba al-`Atīqa, 1993), iv, pp. 61–2 describes the chaos of this invasion through the eyes of the Sufi holy man al-Qadīdī.

<sup>77</sup> Mentioned by Leo Africanus.

<sup>78</sup> Presumably Tōde Mengū.

In Jumādā al-Ākhira [September 1283] the Qipchaq envoys, jurists, arrived, one of whom was the jurist Majd al-Dīn Aṭā and his companions: Nūr al-Dīn and another companion.<sup>79</sup> They brought forth a letter in their hands in Mongol from Taman-Mānggū, the contents of which were that he had converted to Islam, sat on the throne (*takht*) and upheld the laws of Islam. These jurists said,

We have come to seek from our master the Sultan a description by which he would be named [taken from] among Muslim names, a flag from the Caliph, and from the Sultan, and kettledrums (*naqārāt*) with which to ride, and to confront the religion's enemies.

In this letter, as a testament for these jurists, it was hinted that they would make the pilgrimage, so our master the Sultan took an interest in that. He equipped them for Mecca in the company of the pilgrimage caravan with whatever they needed. Therefore, when they were present, and he had dictated the answers to them, and treated them very kindly, he had them travel afterwards in the utmost comfort. [47]

### **Mention of the al-Ḥadath nobleman's (*biṭrik*) arrest in the land of Tripoli**

It was confirmed that there was a nobleman in the land of Tripoli who was insolent and proud, becoming high and mighty, causing the ruler of Tripoli and all the Franks to be afraid.<sup>80</sup> He sought to deceive the people of those mountains, and the people of those persuasions into error.

This continued until all the neighbors feared him, so he fortified himself in al-Ḥadath, puffing himself up (*shamakha anfahu*). No one was able to get the best of him, either in front of him or behind. If it were not for his fear of our master the Sultan's marching to war against these lands, he would have done as he pleased.

The deputies agreed to be on the lookout for him many times, but they never found him. Then the Turkmen went to his place, got the better of him, so that they arrested him, and brought him as a worn-out prisoner. He was among the proclaimers of unbelief and their tyrants, so the Muslims had peace from him, and were safe from his evil. Arresting him was a great victory, more significant than conquering a fortress or castle—may God be sufficient for his cunning.

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<sup>79</sup> Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tūtkles and Conversion to Islam in Historical Epic Tradition* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), pp. 86–88.

<sup>80</sup> It is not clear that this figure, who remains unidentified, was actually a Frank. Ḥadath is probably the present-day Hadath al-Jubba, located in the mountains behind Tripoli, in a region dominated by Maronite Christians.

### Mention of what God did concerning the ruler of Cyprus ...

... and how God made him and his soldiers vulnerable. The ruler of Cyprus<sup>81</sup> had hopes concerning Acre, so he would come (frequently) to the coastlands. Then our master [48] the Sultan would help him against the inhabitants of Acre.

So when the truce between our master the Sultan and the inhabitants of Acre came into force this remained on his mind. He asked his multitude to accompany him, and was present, but they confirmed that the wind drove him to Beirut, so he got out, and intended to raid those areas.

News of his sailing reached our master the Sultan, so he made haste to [notify] his deputies to guard all the places against him. It was as if God had revealed this about him. They watched over his doings, guarding every place against him.

Therefore, when he arrived in Beirut, [they] lay concealed for him in Carob Mountain,<sup>82</sup> then killed a number of his group, taking 80 champions prisoner. They took a great deal of wealth, horses and donkeys belonging to him. If he had not set sail he would have been taken prisoner or been killed. He turned towards Tyre in dismay.

This was the most significant contributing factor to his death and perishing shortly thereafter. God gave the lands and the servants [Muslims] rest from him and his evil.

### Mention of the arrival of the Shaykh `Abd al-Raḥmān ...

... and Ṣamadāghū as messengers from the king Aḥmad son of Hūlegū. This Shaykh `Abd al-Raḥmān has been mentioned previously. He was the exemplar for the king Aḥmad and his confidential adviser. He was the one who advised him [to convert to] Islam treacherously and cunningly in order to soothe [his subjects] in this manner, and to take care of the matter of the Sultan. It was also to be done with fighting his people, his relatives, his brothers, and the children of his brother Arghun.

This shaykh `Abd al-Raḥmān rendered judgment over the land, and administered all the charitable endowments in Persia (*ʿajam*), in `Irāq, in the east and in [Seljuq] Rūm. These were collected for him. He revealed things to the Mongols (*mughul*) which were beyond them.

He was originally from Mosul. It was said that originally he was owned (*mamlūk*), and he came to be known as `Abd al-Raḥmān *al-najjār* (the woodworker). None were left who did not obey him. The king Aḥmad and his clan from the Mongols began to wait in front of him [49] and to listen carefully to his advice.

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<sup>81</sup> Hugh III (1267–84).

<sup>82</sup> *Templar of Tyre*, p. 82 between Chastelet and Damor.

All who were in Baghdad and `Irāq obeyed him, and he played with their minds using all sorts of tricks, coming to dominate their minds. He made the king Aḥmad to understand that he would conclude a peace with our master the Sultan, and he guaranteed that his issues with our master the Sultan would be concluded, just as he had concluded those [issues] there [in `Irāq]. He would be present, and have a presence, greatness and a name in the land, and that people would flock to him. However, the matter came to be the opposite of that.

When it reached our master the Sultan that he had departed from the royal encampment (*urdū*), news of him began to arrive to our master the Sultan from stop after stop, and stage after stage. He came to Mārdīn on 4 Rabī` al-Ākhir [July 2, 1283], then arrived at protected al-Bīra accompanied by the Mongol notable, Ṣamadāghū.

With him there was a group of scribes, jurisprudents, (poor) Sufis, and Mongols at his service, carrying a regal umbrella (*jeter*) unfurled at his head, and arms-bearers (*silāh-dāriyya*), and ones carrying weapons. Beyond those, youths (*ghilmān*), sergeants (*jawwāsh*), officials (*arbāb ashghāl*), and those of the courts (*khidma*)—a great number.

Our master the sultan had already sent to remove these functionaries (*nawāmīs*), and this barbarian marching that they had raised in the lands of our master the Sultan. Therefore, when they rode from protected al-Bīra they were met by the emir Jamāl al-Dīn Aqush al-Fārisī, one of the emirs in protected Aleppo.

He forbade them from unfurling the regal umbrella, bearing weapons, or allowing the Mongols to ride behind him. Their riding was during the night, without raising dust, and not informing anyone of their purpose. He led them on the shoulder of the well-traveled road.

This was on them, and they were annoyed, but Jamāl al-Dīn Aqush al-Fārisī did not pay attention to them, or turn his head at all. It was decided that none of the detachments with him would speak to them, converse with them, accompany them or even look or glance at them.

He brought them to Aleppo on 16 Shawwāl of that year [January 7, 1283]. He concealed them such that absolutely no one knew about them, let alone ventured to speak to them or to converse about them in any way.

Then they were taken out from Aleppo by night, aside from the well-traveled road. They began to lead his group, while the detachments were distant from them so that they could not hear their words, while they were annoyed and disgruntled [50], without anyone paying attention to them until they reached Damascus.

So they entered it, just as we mentioned, in the night, went to the citadel, and were settled in the House of Satisfaction (*dār al-riḍwān*)—the arrangements for taking care of them multiplied in all ways. The matter was such that no one would speak to them or converse with them at all; merely listen to their words without giving any answer.



Their youths (*ghilmān*), retinue and the servants were placed aside in protected locations. Young men were deputized to take care of their horses and mounts, to exercise them and service them. Their number and implements were kept safe, and the situation continued like that until our master the Sultan was present in Syria-Palestine, as we will mention.

### **Mention of the Indian messengers' presence at the gates of our master the Sultan**

During this year an envoy from Abū Bakbā,<sup>83</sup> the ruler of Ceylon, king of India, whose name was al-Hajj Abū `Uthmān and his companion, were present. They said that their ruler sent them on a journey via Hormuz with a Ceylonese ship to Bandar Hormuz after he had equipped them as far as Ceylon. They stayed 15 days, and then traveled to Jāshik [Hāsik] island,<sup>84</sup> to Asnās,<sup>85</sup> from it to Kūrīstan,<sup>86</sup> from it to Talwānah,<sup>87</sup> from it to Qays,<sup>88</sup> from it to Hazwā [Nazwa],<sup>89</sup> from it al-Ṣabar, from it to al-Aal' [Alaya], from it to al-Andrawī,<sup>90</sup> from it to the citadel of Aḥmadnagar,<sup>91</sup> from it to the Citadel of the Blacks (*zanj*),<sup>92</sup> from it to Naḥaylu,<sup>93</sup> from it to Nāband,<sup>94</sup> from it to Sarrāf, from it to Bardastān,<sup>95</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Probably Buvenekabahu (ruled 1270–83).

<sup>84</sup> Between Yemen and Oman, mentioned by Ibn Battūta, p. 391 (today Masīrah Island). This list of names should be compared with Baybars text 4 (a), where the readings of Richards have been utilized to understand it. However, a great many of the names remain unidentified, and are presumably either small villages or garbled.

<sup>85</sup> Perhaps the fortress of Shinas, north of Musqat.

<sup>86</sup> Reading as Kūrīstān, near Bandar `Abbas, mentioned by Ibn Battūta, p. 405 (Richards reads it as Girdastan).

<sup>87</sup> Perhaps Tāwana, a port mentioned in I`timād al-Saltāna, *Mir'āt al-buldān* (Mu`assasat-i va-Intishārāt-i Chap-i Danishgāh-i Tehran, 1989), p. 318; al-'Aynī, ii, p. 304 reads as Tādānah.

<sup>88</sup> In place of Fanas; Qays is an alternative name for Sīrāf.

<sup>89</sup> See Ibn Battūta, p. 397 (in Oman).

<sup>90</sup> Previous three sites are presumably along the coast of Oman; al-'Aynī, ii, p. 304 reads as al-Andrawānī.

<sup>91</sup> Not the present day city in India, which was founded in the early 1400s. Presumably this was a castle close to the Persian Gulf.

<sup>92</sup> Perhaps a castle named because of its use in the slave trade, presumably also located close to the Persian Gulf; al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān*, ii, p. 304 reads it as Qal' at al-Rīh, which seems more plausible, but is equally unidentified, and is also an isolated reading from a later historian.

<sup>93</sup> Reading with Richards (text 4 (a)); presumably Nakhiloo Island in the Persian Gulf, close to Bardestan.

<sup>94</sup> Perhaps the town of Noband, today just to the north of Minab.

<sup>95</sup> Located in the Bushehr province, close to the Persian Gulf.

from it to Bayram, from it to Abū Sihr,<sup>96</sup> from it to Khur al-sadaf,<sup>97</sup> from it [51] to Khārik island,<sup>98</sup> from it to Ḥabāba,<sup>99</sup> from it to Mihrwān,<sup>100</sup> from it to the land of `Abadān,<sup>101</sup> from it to al-Muḥarrarī,<sup>102</sup> from it to al-Ubulla,<sup>103</sup> from it to Baṣra, from it to al-Ḥīla,<sup>104</sup> from it to Dayr al-dayr,<sup>105</sup> from it to al-Maṭāra,<sup>106</sup> from al-Maṭāra to al-Barriyya, from it to al-Jawāhir, from al-Jawāhir to Umm `Ubayda to Badan Mizziyya,<sup>107</sup> from it to al-Fārūth,<sup>108</sup> from it to the village of `Abdallāh, from it to Wāsiṭ,<sup>109</sup> from it to Abū Mu`ayt, from it to al-Mubāraka, from it to Khayzarāna,<sup>110</sup> from it to Sāyis, from it to Jabal [or Jubal], from it to al-Nu`māniyya,<sup>111</sup> from it to the mouth of the pass,<sup>112</sup> from it to al-Jadīda, from it to al-Kayl, from it to al-Madā`īn,<sup>113</sup> and from it to Baghdad.

When this envoy was brought before our master the Sultan, they brought out a letter in a gold casket in which [52] there was something resembling light. It was said that it was walnut-skin (*qashr al-jawz*). They said, “This letter is in the king’s handwriting,” and sought someone who could read it, but did not find anyone. They said, “In it there is Ceylon-Egypt, Egypt-Ceylon ...”<sup>114</sup>

I desire for an envoy to present himself to me in the company of my envoy, and an envoy to stay in Aden. Precious gems here are many—rubies and pearls are here.<sup>115</sup> Boats are here, female elephants, cloth from

<sup>96</sup> Presumably an archaic form of Bushehr.

<sup>97</sup> Perhaps the present-day village of Khurshahab, along the Persian Gulf; al-`Aynī reads as Jūz al-sadaq.

<sup>98</sup> Persian Gulf island with this name.

<sup>99</sup> al-`Aynī, ii, p. 305 reads as Jabāba.

<sup>100</sup> Presumably this is a village on the way to `Abadān.

<sup>101</sup> The modern city near the Persian Gulf, at the mouth of the Euphrates River.

<sup>102</sup> Al-`Aynī, ii, p. 305 reads as al-Mahjarī.

<sup>103</sup> Port of Baṣra.

<sup>104</sup> The modern city, located to the south of the marshes, close to Kūfa.

<sup>105</sup> Unidentified, al-`Aynī, ii, p. 306 reads Zīr al-dayr.

<sup>106</sup> One of the villages of Baṣra, Yāqūt, *Mu`jam*, iv, p. 147.

<sup>107</sup> al-`Aynī, ii, p. 306 reads as Barq Mariyya.

<sup>108</sup> A large village along the Tigris River with a market.

<sup>109</sup> The former Umayyad capital, at this time a minor town.

<sup>110</sup> Reading for Ḥayrāna; the previous are presumably villages close to Wāsiṭ

<sup>111</sup> The modern city, located to the north of the Tigris, close to the Iranian border.

<sup>112</sup> Famm al-Darb; presumably a pass going over the Zagros Mountains, to the east of al-Nu`māniyya.

<sup>113</sup> The ancient city of Ctesiphon, close to Baghdad.

<sup>114</sup> Unclear, possibly meaning that there is a request for bilateral relations between the two countries.

<sup>115</sup> Sri Lankan pearls are described in Ibn al-Akfānī, *Nukhbat al-dhakhā`ir* (Beirut: Dāe Ṣādir, n.d.), p. 25.

silk and other things, red dye, clove-bark (cinnamon) is here. Everything that a noble might want to import is here; including spears and their production. If our master the Sultan requested 20 boats from me I would send them to him, and send the merchants of our master the Sultan to the land. An envoy from the ruler of Yemen came to me, but I rejected him,<sup>116</sup> desiring the friendship of our master the Sultan. I have 27 castles, and all of their treasuries are filled with precious gems, rubies, and the [pearl-] diving places are mine. Everything that is brought up from them is mine.

Our master the Sultan honored the envoy, treated him well, wrote a response to him, and sent it.

### **Mention of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ and the heir-apparent al-Malik al-Ashraf's departure to hunt and his wrestling with a stork**

On 24 Shawwāl of this year [January 15, 1283] our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ and his brother [53] al-Malik al-Ashraf to hunt leading a number of the emirs, the courtiers and the notables in the direction of al-`Abbāsa.

When it was the morning of Wednesday 29 Shawwāl [January 20, 1283] close to al-`Abbāsa at the bridge our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ wrestled with a noble stork (*kuyya*),<sup>117</sup> though it was claimed by a freedman (*mawlā*) of al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the ruler of Ḥamāh. This was because our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr had never developed any interest in that previously, because of his preoccupation with serious issues and matters of war.

The noble bird, after he was carried by the notables among the archers, was sent according to what was appropriate. Gold and silver embroidery (*zarkash*) was made for him as usual, with fine jewelry and jewels on his feet and beak.

He was sent to the emir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Fāriqānī *al-silahdār* (armor-bearer), together with another archer, so they directed it to Ḥamāh. Its ruler met them with great pleasure and whole-hearted greeting. He prepared congratulations for that, and celebrations for a time, and wrote of the

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<sup>116</sup> If this is the “Moor” from the port of Kayala (= Quillon?) mentioned in *Rajavaliya*, p. 70, then it would be an interesting coincidence, but most likely the “Moor” is from a generation later.

<sup>117</sup> See Farsi *gai*: “a speckled bird whose wings are used in feathering arrows”; al-`Aynī, *ʿIqd al-jumān*, ii, p. 307 reads it as *kurakī* “Numidian crane”; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, ii, p. 186 just says it was a bird. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, ii, p. 74 describes the bird, but leaves us in the dark as to why it was so important. One assumes that its capture represented some type of good omen for the Turks. If this is the case, then the highlighting of this incident would indicate Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir’s attachment to al-Ṣāliḥ, and perhaps confirm that the text was not cleaned up when the latter died prematurely.

whole-hearted acceptance, because the Ṣālihiyya [regiment] belonging to our master the martyred Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyub, may God have mercy on him, had come previously, and had given the glad tidings of this privilege.

He said, “I am a servant (*ghulām*) between twain—aren’t they from (one) Ṣāliḥ to (another) Ṣāliḥ?” Everything that happened was sent as usual—the crossbows (*banādiq*),<sup>118</sup> bows in their bow-cases (*al-qisī al-kamandānāt*), and the gifts, whereupon the situation continued on as before. Many gave help to our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ during this year, who accepted this and honored them. [54]

### **Mention of the death of Michael Lascaris [sic!] and his son’s accession after him**

When the envoys of our master the Sultan, who were Najm al-Dīn al-Shuwayḥī, previously mentioned, were sent, they found the Lascarid [sic!]<sup>119</sup> had already died. His son, Komnenus Dukas Angelus Palaeologus, whose name was Andronicus [II], took his place, and took the place of his father, was crowned and sat upon the throne. When the envoys of our master the Sultan arrived, bringing with them a copy of the oaths to his son, he swore to them, taking the copy of the oaths, and swearing on it to our master the Sultan. The envoys received his swearing, and offer of a formal session, so then our master the Sultan responded to this and swore to him on 14 Jumādā al-Ākhira [September 11, 1283]

Then began the year 683 [March 20, 1284]. [55]

### **Mention of preparing envoys for the ships<sup>120</sup> in the sea on 2 Muḥarram [March 21, 1284]**

In it was the preparation of the emir Nāṣir al-Dīn b. al-Muḥsinī al-Jazarī<sup>121</sup> as an envoy to the Lascarid king. With him were the noble correspondence and accompanying him were gifts of horses and other things, so then he traveled. The emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Ḥalabī the elder and Muzaffar al-Dīn Mūsā b. Tamras al-As (?) traveled as envoys to the king Tōda Mengū, close [relative] of the king Berke, Nogai, and Qaidū. The emir Qaṭʿān and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī al-Shawārib were with them.

On 29 Rabīʿ al-Awwal [June 15, 1284] our master the Sultan, with the heir-apparent al-Ṣāliḥ, his son, descended to the renovated noble mausoleum

<sup>118</sup> It is not always clear what *bunduq* means at this time (also ballista), cf. Nicholle, glossary, s.v.

<sup>119</sup> Michael VIII Palaeologus, d. 11 December 1282.

<sup>120</sup> Reading *sufun*.

<sup>121</sup> Correcting from al-Jaharī as in Baybars (text 4 (a)).

of the Sultan al-Malik al-Şāliḥ's mother, so he visited her, and prayed for mercy for her. He witnessed the beauty of the construction, and quickness by which it was taking place in the shortest time period, led by the emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Shujā`ī. Her passing was (on 16 Shawwāl 682 [January 7, 1284]).<sup>122</sup> They gave charity, acted well, and God recompenses those who give.

**Mention of the initiative to renovate the felicitous  
al-Manşūrī Hospital, the *madrasa*, and the noble  
cupola in Cairo, *bayn al-qaşrayn***

When our master the Sultan departed from his visit to the noble mausoleum, as we mentioned, and witnessed the beauty of its renovation, his noble soul desired to do something good. It desired, as something is in return for something else, as he remembered, so he decided to build [56] a grand-style hospital to conjoin the king's resolution to construct something similar to a school (*madrasa*) for the [religious] sciences, and a blessed noble cupola for the reading and recitation of the Qur'ān.

The only place he was able to find for this was a court known as al-Qibṭiyya (= Quṭbiyya)—it was not fit because of its age and space for those who were living in it. Therefore, our master the Sultan compensated them by the palace known as the Emerald Palace, so they dwelt there. Our master the Sultan then proceeded to straighten this court, and to sell it, and the one in charge of the finances, the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy al-Manşūrī, bought it. He ordered the renovation at the beginning of Rabī' al-Ākhir [June 17, 1284], and obtained materials from every direction. He wrote to the lands to bring this to fruition, and to obtain the columns and marble. The emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Manşūrī proclaimed it himself every day. It is unheard of for any building to have ever been renovated as fast as this one.

The month of Ramaḍān [mid-December 1284] had not ended this year before the hospital was completed with its four arched halls (*awāwīn*), its water pouring out from every direction, its cornices (*shādhirwānāt*), its marble, its rivers, and its garden.

No Royal House [57] in either in Syria or in Egypt was ever seen like that. Its description will be come in its proper place at its completion, if God wills, in goodness and peacefulness.

**Mention of what God did this year to the enemies  
of Islam, namely the Franks and the Mongols**

By the blessing of our master the Sultan, and by his felicitous face, there was the following good fortune, which was their kings perishing and their self-involvement.

<sup>122</sup> In the edition there is a blank; the editor added it from al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk*.

We have already mentioned overwhelming aid and fixed good fortune that God made easy for this Sultan and at his hands. God did not choose him without a reason, and he was made both a blessing and a guidance. The felicity from this is both confined and passes boundaries [at the same time]. It is confined in that it necessitates [58] kingship in himself, and whoever seeks refuge with him, while it passes boundaries in that it does not yield benefit upon those near and far, or the lands and servants.

It is this felicity that causes the enemies to perish in itself—and God has made the believers sufficient to fight by means of it, as well as their managing in most localities, with possessions and men, so that its possessor will be victorious. It is as God said, “We feed you only for the face of God. We do not desire any payment or thanks from you.”<sup>123</sup>

How many felicities like the sun’s light radiate through the west and east, while it is in the fourth heaven, at the same time as its rays scorch the earth! The felicity of our master the Sultan has this awesome glorious effect, so it is necessary to establish a proof, which is the fact that since our master the Sultan undertook the cares of the Islamic community (*umma*) its enemies have continued to lose. Not a single flag of theirs has been victorious; all the victories have gone to those behind whom is a sign [Muslims].

### As for the Franks ...

Reports multiplied during this year about them raiding each other. The earth continued to contain them, so they were perishing through wars and calamities (*malāḥim*), and there was no one having mercy upon them.

Among them was the ruler of Tyre’s perishing and death,<sup>124</sup> and also of the first king of Cyprus and his son.<sup>125</sup> Also, the arrival of reports on 16 Ṣafar of that year [June 2, 1284] that the king of France (*ifransa*) perished and died. In addition, the German Emperor perished and died.<sup>126</sup> King Charles (*jār*) [of Anjou], brother of [the king of] France (*fransīs*), sent to France to rule it in place of his brother’s children. He left his children in his place in Apulia. The king of Aragon [59], the Barcelonan,<sup>127</sup> at that time attacked Calabria, which is the city on the mainland opposite Sicily. He took it, because the king of France, his son died, who was the Barcelonan’s sister’s son. King Charles

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<sup>123</sup> Q76:9.

<sup>124</sup> John of Montfort.

<sup>125</sup> Hugh III of Cyprus, and his son John.

<sup>126</sup> Rudolf I of Habsburg died later on July 15, 1291, so it is not clear what the reference is. Alfonso X, who had been elected King of the Romans, and made a claim to the German throne, died on April 4, 1284, but Alfonso’s death is noted later.

<sup>127</sup> Although it might sound odd for the king of Aragon to be referred to as “the Barcelonan,” note that the Byzantines referred to the Aragonese as Tarragonans.

feared that when the French ruler's son ruled in place of his father, he would favor his maternal uncle, the Barcelonan. Then they would seize the rule from Charles (*sharlūn*), who is king Charles (*jār*), so he rushed to that, and the report spread.

When it was Tuesday 11 Rabī' al-Ākhir [June 27, 1284], reports reached our master the Sultan in a boat commissioned in Messina 15 days [previously] that the Barcelonan was staying in Messina, and that [60] he had constructed 35 galleys (*shīnā*),<sup>128</sup> and they headed to the port of Naples, one of the lands of King Charles, in which his son the Prince [Charles II] and the Count d'Artois (*al-kandsandart*), his deputy, were staying.

In the port of Naples there were 38 galleys concentrated, so when the galleys of the King of Aragon, the Barcelonan, struck them, not one of the Neapolitans was able to board the concentrated galleys in its port. So the Prince, son of King Charles, boarded in place of his father, the count (*al-kund*) his deputy,<sup>129</sup> and a great number of his counts (*aknād*), and horsemen boarded. This was because they said to the son of King Charles, "When?—are you not going to board! If not, then no one will."

So when he boarded, they did as well, and headed towards the Barcelonan's galleys, which were waiting for a fight. When they departed the port of Naples, at a distance of 3 miles, the Barcelonan's galleys hurried off before them to the deep sea, because the wind was a westerly, and they feared that the wind would smash them up against the dry land. When they hurried off, the galleys of King Charles, which were scattered on the sea, searched for them.

Then the Barcelonan's galleys returned against them, and met them head-on, taking ten galleys from them. The son of King Charles and the senior commanders were in one galley, prepared with men and provisions. Therefore, they fought fiercely. One of the Barcelonan's galley men was promised five ingots of gold if he would damage King Charles' son's galley, so he dove to make a hole in the galley. Water entered and it was about to sink.

At that time, they cast down their swords, and asked for quarter. They [the Aragonese] took the king, those counts, horsemen and nobles who were with him, then they took ten further galleys, not including the initial ten [they had taken]. They took the king and his followers to Messina, so that they people of the city could see them, and then they sent to inform the Barcelonan of what had happened. This battle was on 20 Rabī' al-Awwal, year 683 [June 6, 1284]. [61]

Among that were reports that arrived saying that al-Marini, ruler of the west, besieged Alfonso [X of Castile], that Alfonso had died,<sup>130</sup> and that he had arranged for his dominion to pass to his son,<sup>131</sup> who had quarreled with him, and that he ruled in place of him. So far the Franks.

<sup>128</sup> See Agius, *Classic Ships of Islam* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2008), glossary, "shīnā."

<sup>129</sup> Probably Robert II, count of Artois (d. 1302).

<sup>130</sup> On April 4, 1284.

<sup>131</sup> Sancho IV of Castile (1285–95).



**As for the Mongols ...**

Their situation was clearer, and their news more widespread. This was the death of Abagha and Ejei, his brother, and Mengū Temūr, and Qongquratai's being killed, the one who had escaped to the [Seljuq] Rūm. Among their senior commanders, Lukabahādur died, and Sakantir Bakhanqin died while hunting. Sung, the deputy of Mengū Temūr died of his wounds. And Harma, Abagha's in-law, died, as well as Jībā Ārḥā, the nephew of Abagha. Munkassir and Qanji son of Kitbugha also died,<sup>132</sup> as well as an uncounted number, especially those by the sword at the calamity of Ḥims. On the roads there were those who died from thirst, drowning, weariness and fear—more than can be counted, and their condition cannot be described.

The worst of the matter was that there was a pronounced enmity and hatred between King Aḥmad son of Hūlagū and Arghun son of his brother Abagha. Both of them withdrew [62] away from the other. A group remained with King Aḥmad, while another was with Arghun. Everyone agreed that Aḥmad headed [first] for Arghun with his armies. He also took the opportunity to send the Shaykh `Abd al-Raḥmān and Ṣamadāghū to be at the formal session of our master the Sultan, and at his gates, asking for a peace. By that, he hoped to guard his back, and believed that he could deal with the matter of Arghun son of Abagha in that way, and then return to his ill-intentions.

When the negotiations between King Aḥmad and Arghun lengthened, Arghun decided to revolt against King Aḥmad. King Aḥmad then dispatched a great army, approximately 11,000 fighters, and appointed the one known as `Alī Nāq, one of the retinue of King Aḥmad, to be its commander. They headed for Arghun, and camped close by him. Arghun rode, raiding them, and killed 2000 of their riders. More than half of Arghun's army was killed as well. It was the Kurdish Lūz who did most of that [killing].

This news rang throughout Persia (*bilād al-`ajam*), and Arghun's wife, children and many women came to King Aḥmad. King Aḥmad sent a request in the direction of Tabriz, so arrived [63] at Ahrūrāy, which is two days from Tabrīz. When Aḥmad was victorious, he captured five emirs in the battle-line, and he interrogated them. They confessed that Arghun sought to cross to the Il-Khan, but that a group of King Aḥmad's followers had prevented him. Thus, they prevented Arghun from entering into obedience to Aḥmad. Aḥmad then arrested 12 senior Mongol emirs, binding and chaining them.

At that, the Mongols rose up against King Aḥmad and remonstrated with him. The reports vary, so among the best informed there are those who say: Aḥmad was killed. However, among them are those who say he fled, together with the chief of his chancellery (*ṣāhib al-dīwān*), then was taken, brought before Arghun, who killed him. The chancellor was also killed. There is no doubt that King Aḥmad was killed, in truth.

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<sup>132</sup> The Mongol commander at `Ayn Jālūt in 1260.

Thus Arghun disposed of the matter, and the land filled with rebels and others—those among Aḥmad’s supporters who were defeated. Arghun dispatched the one called `Alī Nāq, and he burned the house of King Aḥmad’s mother, who was Qatūkhātūn, while she was in it. It was said: King Aḥmad was killed in a gathering for which the Mongols were gathered. This was during Jumādā al-Ulā year 683 [August 1284].

Arghun assumed the kingship with little money or men. Jūshkeb, brother of Aḥmad,<sup>133</sup> continued to control Mosul and the Jazīra with 200 horsemen, not more. They will continue to be at odds forever, if God wills, each killing the other, until God purifies the earth from them. May God make every enemy of our master the Sultan perish, and make His name everywhere blessed!

A coded letter (*mutarjam*) from one of the senior spies among these people arrived to our master the Sultan. It contained: Dissention has disrupted the enemy, and they have dispersed in all directions. Aḥmad created battle-lines between himself and Arghun. The final matter was that `Alī known as Nāq captured Arghun and brought him to Aḥmad, who left him in his tent, deputizing 12,000 horsemen each night to guard him.

There was an emir called Barbughā, who is senior among them, who Aḥmad had made the commander of the army. Sometimes Aḥmad would say to him off-handedly, “It will be necessary to cut off your head.” These words stayed in that emir’s heart, so when Aḥmad captured Arghun and put him in the tent, and was certain of victory over him, that he was secure in his hands, he set out [64] at the head of 200 horsemen, leaving the army, his brothers and Arghun in the place in which he had captured him. He [Aḥmad] sought the [royal] encampment (*urdū*) of his mother, happy with victory.

Then that emir thought over Aḥmad’s words to him, and those words ate away at him, so he rode to Jūshkeb and said to him,

I am a *mamlūk* to the Khan’s house, and I am not a traitor to you. Know that King Aḥmad entrusted the army matter to me. When he rode to his mother, he approached me and said: “Every time you march one day’s march, kill one of those [Aḥmad’s brothers], and bury him in that place, until none of the brothers are left by the time you get to me.”

Jūshkeb said to him, “Is it true what you say?” He said, “Those are your brother’s words—but you won’t believe until you die.” Then Jūshkeb sent for Arghun that very hour, but he refused [to come] saying, “He is only looking for me to kill me.” But they swore to him that he was looking for him for a serious matter. So Arghun was brought before Jūshkeb. When he was brought to him, he had him ride behind him on a [single] horse, so they drew away from the army, while he [Jūshkeb] told him the tale told to him by that emir.

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<sup>133</sup> Actually his nephew; in the text Ḥawshkab.

He [Arghun] said, “O paternal uncle, I don’t have an answer or words. Right now I am your captive, and the power is yours.” Then he set Jūshkeb to go behind Qarānogai, Hūlegū, Baidū, and the Khan’s children, all-together, and they took counsel that each of them would go to an emir and kill him. Arghun went to the house [tent] of `Alī Nāq and killed him.

Before the sun rose they had killed all against whom they had conspired. They then equipped 8000 (armored) horsemen wearing (mail) from Arghun’s army, from those who could be counted upon, and they set out to capture Aḥmad, and to rob his horde, his mother’s horde, and their tents. When they rode, the emir who had instigated the revolt (*fitna*), who was Barbughā, rode and beat them to Aḥmad, to tell him of what had happened, that the army was on the move.

When Aḥmad heard of these words, he became increasingly urgent, until he reached his mother, and told her the situation. Therefore, she considered the situation, while Aḥmad shouted for Saktūr and his emirs, that they should gather the army to meet Arghun in battle. Saktūr entered into the presence of Qatūkhātūn, Aḥmad’s mother, and they agreed to capture Aḥmad. Saktūr said to Aḥmad, “Go out so that you can review the army,” but when he went out they captured him and left him in his tent.

After two days, the 8000 horsemen that were coming on behalf of Arghun attacked them, and robbed Aḥmad’s mother’s horde, [65] taking what cannot be reckoned or counted. Aḥmad stayed 27 days under arrest; then they killed him by kicking [him to death].

After 20 days Arghun sent Barbughā and Saktūr to Aḥmad’s mother, and they said, “Your son suffered from heatstroke, then died.” She enjoined them to keep what she would say to them secret, and then said, “If my son had listened to my words nothing would have happened to him. He left the *Yāsā*, and did not listen to my words. Only let the rest of my sons live: Arghun, Jūshkeb and Hūlegū.”

When they departed from her presence, they eves-dropped to see whether she wept or would say something, but she did not say anything, nor did she repeat anything or say anything new. Then she sought them, saying, “Tell my son Arghun: What was the benefit of robbing your grandfather Hūlegū’s house? When Aḥmad left the *Yāsā* I was the one who captured him for you.” They went and informed Arghun of that conversation.

He said, “This is what you want to obtain from her words and counsel.” Then he gave her her lands, just as during the time of her son: [the cities of] Ṭūmān and Mayāfāriqīn. When Arghun killed Aḥmad, Jūshkeb found it difficult to bear the fact that he had killed him [66] without a direct order, and regretted what he had done. He rode, and went on before Arghun. He sent looking for him, but was not able to do anything other than have him [Arghun] present. So he came with 500 horsemen, and they exchanged recriminations.

Jūshkeb said to him, “I freed you from Aḥmad’s hand, and his wickedness.” He agreed with that, but remonstrated with him about his sitting on the throne without previously consulting with him. Then they agreed that Baidu would govern the region (*iqḷīm*) of Baghdad, while Hūlegū would govern the Rūm, and Jūshkeb would govern from Irbil to the *takhūm* of Rūm. Arghun’s son would govern as far as *jawwa* in place of his father,<sup>134</sup> and Ejei would govern the Georgians.

When Jūshkeb went from him, he sent for him to attend him, but he refused, so he sent an emir with 2000 horsemen whose name was `Azab, but he was not to be found. This news is what the coded message brought: these are correct reports from among them. [67]

### **Mention of the Aleppan armies’ going towards al-Tini, and the victory that God ordained for them**

During this period reports continued to flow in to our master the Sultan from travelers, well-wishers and frequenters [of the court] that a group of Armenians from the citadel of al-Tinī was waylaying on the roads and frightening people, preying upon travelers. Complaints multiplied about them. Our master the Sultan sent to the deputy in protected Aleppo, ordering them to attack this place at the first opportunity.

The governor in Aleppo took charge of this, sending a group of the army, whose commander was the emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Shamsī. A pressed [army] group was sent to it, so they besieged it, desiring to take it. The mangonels cast at it, destroying one of its towers, and a substantial section of its curtain-walls.

So its people shouted “Safe-conduct!” and they asked for safety of those sent to them. Two people from the freeborn troops (*halqa*) of Aleppo went to them. They discussed with them their descent from the citadel or that they would pay a fine in horseshoes (*taṭābīq*) for the victorious army’s horses. They decided to pay 17,000 dirhams for themselves, and paid up 2000 dirhams of that, then gave a hostage, who was one of the Christians.

While they were in the midst of doing this—betraying the fortress’ people, until they had a chance to overpower them—suddenly the Catholicos’ son was present on Mt. Līsūn close to them. He then took a chance, and sent out a group of the road-guard (*qarāghūl*). The Mansuri vanguard (*yazak*) fell upon them face-to-face, and they fought. Most of the Tatars were killed, six of them captured, and some of the road-guard horses were robbed. Victory was for the Muslims. Among those who were martyred was the emir Shihāb al-Dīn Ḥaydar, by an arrow, previous to that.

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<sup>134</sup> Presumably Ghazan, who would have then been quite young.

The army returned protected by peace, and they arrived at al-Bīra on the morning of Saturday [1]8<sup>135</sup> Rabīʿ al-Awwal [June 11, 1284] during this year. Al-Tīnī citadel was destroyed; no one would be able to reconstruct what was left of it. [68]

### Mention of our master the Sultan's departure during this year to protected Syria

During this year our master the Sultan, may God make his dominion eternal, took the roll in the presence of all of his armies, and gathered them from all the lands. He sent his armor-bearer's (*silāhdāriyya*) [regiment] to bring them, and they came from every direction. He made Khayrat Allāh commander, and rode from his citadel on Sunday 8 Jumādā al-Ulā [July 23, 1284], camping at the Victory Gate, and marching from it Thursday 12 Jumādā al-Ulā [July 27, 1284].

Our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Šāliḥ was confirmed as being in charge of affairs in the Egyptian homelands, and to busy himself with its affairs both in part and in total. The emir Zayn al-Dīn Kitbugha al-Manšūrī was in his service as a deputy with regard to the larger sultanate.

When he [Qalāwūn] came to Gaza, reports arrived that King Aḥmad had died, though some people were saying, "[He was] taken prisoner." Arghun had brought together all of the Mongols to capture Aḥmad, and to remove him from the kingship, and that a group of approximately 4000 horsemen of the Tatars were defecting (*muqaffaza*),<sup>136</sup> going to protected Syria. Our master the Sultan took up the reins (*al-'anān*) towards protected Damascus on the date of Saturday 2 Jumādā al-Ākhira [August 17, 1284], and the people acted happy at his arrival as usual. He attended every feast in which there would be benefit in his coming.

The first part of it was the presence of King Aḥmad's envoys, who were Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Šamadāghū. He [Qalāwūn] caused them to be present. In the presence of our master the Sultan, the death of King Aḥmad, who sent them, was verified. They had not known of it nor had a report of it come to them. All that day whoever was in their presence was held back, and attended the gates of our master the Sultan, while they did not know [anything]. Letters were taken and read [surreptitiously] while they did not understand [what was going on]. [69]

Our master the Sultan sat through the night, with many candles burning. Only the closest of our master the Sultan's intimates were gathered around him. They were in their best dress, and perfect appearance, while our master the Sultan was dazzling in his majesty. People could not think because of his

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<sup>135</sup> Text reading 8, but 18 makes it Sunday; reading the superfluous *shahar* as *ʿashara*.

<sup>136</sup> The editor reads *muqaffara*, "trackers."

beauty. “Then God sent down His tranquility (*sakīna*) ...”<sup>137</sup> and sobriety, and lights surrounded him from every side.

When the Shaykh `Abd al-Raḥmān entered, he believed that this standing-place (*maqām*)<sup>138</sup> would not be easily frightened, that he could soften people’s minds, so he entered in the dress of poor Sufis (*fuqarā’*). He was permitted to kiss the ground. But he refused out of pride and vanity. He motioned towards the ground, until his limbs were almost disjointed, limb from limb. This he did as a way of getting around a number of times. Our master the Sultan’s eye upon him was not prolonged. The one bringing Ṣamadāghū and Shams al-Dīn b. al-Ṣāhib in did the same.

When they had presented themselves, our master the Sultan listened to their words, and took the letter coming from King Aḥmad at the hand of the Shaykh `Abd al-Raḥmān. So then they rose from before our master the Sultan, whereupon he put impressive robes on them a number of times, was kind to them, and informed them after that of the death of Sultan Aḥmad. Then he brought them in another time, when the Shaykh `Abd al-Raḥmān had brought a gift, it was received. They continued to be treated well, and in generous accommodations, with good interaction.

### **Text of the document sent at the hand of the Shaykh `Abd al-Raḥmān and Ṣamadāghū<sup>139</sup>**

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, by the power of God, Most High, as a response, the Khan, *firmān* (by the order of) Aḥmad, to the Sultan of Egypt.

Afterwards, the One who necessitates upon the intelligent expending effort, abandoning being dilatory, spending the most in acquiring a lasting legacy, which is the second lifetime, while [70] delightful praise and generous reward are restricted to magnifying God’s order, being moved to pity for God’s creation, and the realization of justice and equanimity mandated for this end.

Which justice and equanimity are greater in measure, higher in mention among the localities and realms than saving souls, if only barely, from those things causing one to perish, and to put out the flame of thirsty livers, and wounded hearts. Whoever causes them to revive it is as if he has caused a resurrection.

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<sup>137</sup> Q9:26.

<sup>138</sup> Meaning the sultan’s presence.

<sup>139</sup> Compare Judith Pfeiffer, “Aḥmad Tegüder’s second letter to Qalāwūn (682/1283),” in Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh Alysia Quinn (eds.), *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), pp. 167–202.

Since we did not have, by the awesome grace of God and His massive goodness, impoverishment or nor wish [for anything], nor does there remain in our consciousness any volition or desire other than the weal of this world and the tranquility of humans, especially the Islamic sect (*tā'ifa*), the people of the pure monotheistic (*hanīf*) belief, we have caused the ambassadors (*ilchiyya*) to be sent forth to our brothers Nogai Agha, Töda Mengü and others. This sending was in order to caution them that the barren dominion that our ancestor Genghis Khan and our noble fathers treasured up for us, after patience in the difficulty and arduousness of obtaining it, and shouldering the burdens of difficulties and struggle, merely by fighting and contesting, opposition to holding back and difference of belief, now stands at the brink of the emaciation of its glory and splendor, and its water's pure splendor's turbidity.

Now it is time for us to exchange the wild animal struggle for the human setting things right, and in place of the intense dark night of mustering the troops and bickering [have] the first signs of morning, and the sheathing of sharp-cutting swords, that have been drawn from their sheaths, erasing the traces of killing and slaughter.

We will turn from the battle-targets and hatred, so all will spend to uphold the obligation of assistance (*kawch*), as service to him, holding fast to the obligation of obeying him, and completely fulfilling what is connected to benefiting him. This will be such that you should consider this with the eye of discernment, the opinion of one who the orbit of the cosmos has schooled, and experience has clarified for them that this opinion is pure honey/advice (*shūr*), unblemished by deceit or oily hypocrisy. It is simply a warning that nothing other than the cream of good advice can deceive.

So they said: The one who falls into dissension is between the one of his fathers and forefathers who has passed on, with whom it is not appropriate to be harsh, not causing falseness or rancor, so we have returned to (the beliefs) of our noble earliest fathers, which are agreement, amity, and keeping covenants and protections accorded. Therefore, we have obligated ourselves to not break the link of this order, and God is the One who grants success to the rightly guided, and is the Guide to right-action.

When the mind finishes setting this aright, and the steadiness of reconciliation has taken root between the two sides, we will send the ambassadors (*ilchiyya*). This will occur after pure intention towards God and His Messenger, in order to quiet the raging dissensions (*fitan*), [71] put out this bright flame, in order to save the blood of the Muslims, to stop the dent in the religion.



The purity of his answer, and the cream of his speech at his standing upon that which was written to him, was as follows: If our father the Shaykh of Islam, Quṭb al-`Ārifīn, Kamāl al-Dīn `Abd al-Raḥmān sends to me I would rely upon his trust, incline to his religiosity, and listen to what letters and face-to-face negotiation cannot convey from him. This will be as a result of the benefits for me, and I would speak to him of the good counsel that the Muslims' conscience enfolds.

This without being afraid that he will triumph over us by his staying away, or he would desert us by distance and separation. Perhaps if some of the pleasure of his company, and beauty of companionship that has arrived to him will benefit him. This will be such that his seeking will be in accord with the common good, and to spread the symbols of Islam we would be satisfied to set off in his direction, in order to grant his proposition.

We have made this happen for taking a covenant and oath, in place of our good disposition and an oath, so that there would be no distance between our words and his, as he is the best in aid for matters of religion.

We have necessitated everyone near to us to support him to us, with whatever is trustworthy, in that he is a giver of (good) advice who does not speak aimlessly. It is possible that a small number (*shirdhama*) of ignorant people from both sides, those people of division and hypocrisy, whose belief is not in accord with common agreement, their natures will negate the truce and agreement, "who want to extinguish the light of God with their mouths, but God refuses (to do anything) except perfect His light,"<sup>140</sup> in order to disunite their community, and in order to realize their desires.

So it is obligatory to not listen to their words, but to leave their deeds, because "their deeds have come to nothing,"<sup>141</sup> as it is known that every matter which can possibly be seen in a positive light in that it does not cease to be the stuff of back-and-forth gossip<sup>142</sup> is not appropriate that it be seen in the opposite manner, especially in confronting adversity and serious matters.

"Praise (be) to God who guided us to this! We would not have been guided if God had not guided us."<sup>143</sup> Written at the beginning of Rabī al-Awwal year 682 [May 30, 1283] in the standing-place of Tabriz. Praise be to God, Lord of Worlds, and prayers upon our lord Muḥammad, his family and companions altogether. [72]

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<sup>140</sup> Q9:32.

<sup>141</sup> Frequently cited, e.g., Q9:17, 2:217.

<sup>142</sup> *Al-qāl wa-l-qīl* seems to be the Farsi *guft-i gū*.

<sup>143</sup> Q7:43.

### **Mention of the incidence of flooding that reached protected Damascus, and the preservation of inhabited storehouses from it**

When our master the Sultan stayed in Damascus during this period, reports reached every enemy, near and far, that since he was impervious to error in himself, God tempted him with temptation,<sup>144</sup> such that no one would be able to handle.

It was foaling time [for the horses], and there was nothing left other than to depart. He had decided upon his blessed going forth on Thursday 11 Sha`bān [October 23, 1284]. Camels attended the storehouses and larger houses to porter and carry the loads; other than to empty the storehouses there was nothing left to do. Our master the Sultan wrote that the camels should not be unloaded near a gate or nearby. However, he did not write that they should empty the storehouse on that day, relying upon God.

A group of his mamluks and intimates were camped near the confluence of the two rivers, and sent their baggage-mounts down in that place. Those filled with pride were late, and when it was night on Wednesday the flood came. It came like towering mountains, and took the khans, the hostels (*fanādiq*), the houses (*al-ādurr*), and the harvest—everything that was in front of it.

Peoples' things were destroyed, including horses, camels, fabrics, possessions—a world perished, which cannot be counted. It carried away that which its value was unknown, nor was there a total reckoning. [Secondhand] reports are not like seeing it [oneself].

This flooding was in truth like the Flood (*tawfān*). Everything that was connected with our master the Sultan was saved—weapons-stores, possessions, camels and larger tents (*buyūtāt*). This was all because of the blessing of his noble flag, his righteous good thought, and his sound opinions.

Our master the Sultan set out from Damascus, returning on Saturday 23 Sha`bān [November 4, 1283], and came to his citadel safely on Tuesday 18 Ramaḍān [November 28, 1284]. [73]

### **Mention of the ruler of Ḥamāh's death, and our master the Sultan's treating his children well**

During the month of Ramaḍān the disposition of al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the ruler of Ḥamāh, took a turn for the worse. This [news] reached the deputy of Syria, so he sent one of the Manṣūriyya emirs to him via the post (*barīd*), asking about his disposition, to greet him, and to visit him while he was sick.

Our master the Sultan wrote to check up on him, to learn news of him, and to ask about his disposition. On Wednesday, 17 Shawwal [December 27, 1284] the post arrived from al-Malik al-Muzaffar Taqī al-Dīn his son; in it a

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<sup>144</sup> Cf. Q31:33.

letter from him, from his paternal uncle al-Malik al-Afdal telling of his passing, may God have mercy on him, and seeking the condolences of our master the Sultan.

Our master the Sultan treated them well, bringing them back from the brink by writing a response of condolence and distraction—and by confirming al-Malik al-Muzaffar in his father's position in the realm. He addressed him in his correspondence the same way as he used to address [his father]. He also wrote a reply to his paternal uncle and replies to his soldiers.

Then [74] Jamāl al-Dīn Aqush<sup>145</sup> al-Mawṣilī the chamberlain prepared one of the Ispahsalārī emirs,<sup>146</sup> and sent with him a quantity of unique noble honors for him, his paternal uncle, his cousin, and all of his emirs.

On the evening of Friday 19 Shawwāl [December 29, 1284] he returned and honored his governor in the Egyptian homelands who was in charge of their regency and held them as a charitable endowment (*waqf*).

Through all of this the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Ḥamawī, known as Abū Khurṣ, was present, but then encountered the emir Jamāl al-Dīn the chamberlain on the road, and took from him the emblem of his nobility and his clothes.

Therefore, he presented himself in front of our master the Sultan, and made the testament of his lord known to him, and the reliance of his children upon our master the Sultan. In turn, our master the Sultan reiterated to the aforementioned and to them, and renewed the correspondence about the testament to the governors in all of these areas.

He also confirmed that matters would be as they were during the life of their lord, may God have mercy upon him, and renewed all their possessions according to letters of appointment (*tawāqī'*) and important matters.

He then traveled with everything that would satisfy them. Our master the Sultan promised, if God willed, when he was present in Damascus he would confirm him as sultan, and give him his appointment, together with all the insignia of sultanhood and other things that are appropriate for the likes of him. [75]

During this month he made ready the covering (*kiswa*)<sup>147</sup> and the caravan for Mecca, may God Most High ennoble it. He appointed the emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Bāshqirdī as the emir of the caravan. During this year countless numbers of people traveled from Egypt and Cairo, and the highlands (*al-aryāf*). From Gaza and Damascus, [the caravan's] emir was the emir `Izz al-Dīn b. `Izz al-Dīn al-Qaymarī. [76]

<sup>145</sup> Correcting from Afash.

<sup>146</sup> Those commanding 40.

<sup>147</sup> For the Ka`ba.

### Aid and enlivening conversation

This anecdote is brought just to remind, and as a brief concise enjoinder as God fills His habitation with good, and protects the sanctuary of Islam by His warding. He fills every heart with loyalty to Him; His staying and protection are as His protection the result of His bounty and generosity.

Our master the Sultan ordered preparation of war implements: preparation of mangonels, supplies and materials. He stayed in Damascus until Monday 2 Şafar [April 9, 1285], traveling from place to place, camping in `Uyūn al-Qaşab. He ordered the armies to flock together from every direction, and opened the flooding from every realm. Mangonels were transported from every direction. A mighty mangonel was brought, which our master the Sultan wrote to Damascus to have constructed under the supervision of the supreme commander (*ispahsalārī*) emir `Izz al-Dīn *al-afram* (the toothless), *amīr jāndār* (guard). It would cast a stone weighing 120 Damascene *raṭls*.<sup>148</sup> [77]

### Mention of the conquest of Marqab fortress

This is an immense forbidding fortress, in which our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr, may God aid him, was consistently interested. He plotted to gain it for Islam, and sought to benefit from advice and planning as to how to take it and its defiant defenders. This was because it had defeated [previous] kings, none of whom could even get close to it, let alone besiege it.

Al-Malik al-Zāhir [Baybars] endeavored to raid it a number of times, but God neither ordained this, nor made it easy. He did not turn aside from disposing of it, nor did he hasten to it, but advanced to it at once from Ḥamāh. Unfortunately, snow, cold and rain confronted him. The narrow ravines and rugged terrain also prevented it from him. Another time [when he was] not coming from Ḥamāh he arrived with insufficient provisions.

Therefore, God saved it for our master the Sultan to be among his enlightening conquests, and that he would be embroidered with it in the best manner. It was the home of the Hospitallers, from which they had increased their iniquity and enmity, and their vandalism had multiplied. All the people of the neighboring castles felt as if they were imprisoned because of them, or even in the grave!

The Franks believed that it could not be surrounded either by might or by trickery, and it was difficult to see how trickery could accomplish anything. They continued this oppression; oaths did not stop them. They performed all sorts of ugly betrayals, imprisonment and theft against the garrison-soldiers of the smaller castles around it.

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<sup>148</sup> 1.785 kg to a Damascene *raṭl*.

Our master the Sultan al-Manṣūr crouched over them like a slaving lion—engrossed in the matter of this fortress without being open about it. Every time they had lit the fire for war, he drew upon lordly guidance and lights.

He prepared the mangonels in Damascus, but no one knew where they were going, nor what was the destination. The local men [78] prepared their food-stuffs, their commanders and provisions. They were numerous, innumerable. Some people said that the endgoal was Qal' at al-Rūm, but others said, "Some other place."

Our master the Sultan had prepared a vast armory-factory (*zardkhānāh*) in Egypt. In it there were many loads of arrows and other things. In the same way, he had set aside arrows for them to carry specifically for the emirs of the army-district, and to make available in case of need. Implements of iron and *naphtha* (boiling oil) were prepared that were not to be found other than in his provisions and weapon-stores.

All of this preceded his preparation prior to his traveling and setting out. He utilized a large number of skilled-workers who had expertise in sieges and the practicalities of siege warfare. He prepared the mangonels that were in adjoining castles, and set aside men [for the siege] without fanfare or being open about it.

The mangonels and war-implements were carried on backs and heads. Our master the Sultan traveled zealously from his dwelling at `Uyūn al-Qaṣab.<sup>149</sup> He laid siege to Marqab on Wednesday 10 Ṣafar [April 17, 1285]. For this time, the mangonels were carried on the shoulders, upon these wings. Hardship circumambulated the fortress from every place, but they carried out its siege with the greatest authority.

The Frankish and *qarābughā* mangonels<sup>150</sup> were placed [in readiness]—of all these Frankish mangonels there were the three biggest, three *qarābughā* mangonels,<sup>151</sup> and four satanic (*shayṭāniyya*) mangonels, such that they were able to cover every direction.<sup>152</sup> These proceeded to cast so many stones that sparks flew from them, and caused grievous damage. Tunnels [under the walls] were made from every side.

It was confirmed [afterwards] that it was the Frankish mangonels that broke the mangonels of the Franks [Hospitallers], while the Islamic [mangonels] advanced closer to the castle. Then the Franks straightened out their

<sup>149</sup> Close to Hims.

<sup>150</sup> A simple one-poled mangonel, see Nicolle, *Arms & Armour*, gloss.

<sup>151</sup> The Black Bull, heavy mangonel; on them see Paul Chevedden, "Black Camels and Blazing Bolts: The Bolt-Projecting Trebuchet in the Mamluk Army," *Mamluk Studies Review* 9 (2004), pp. 228–77, at pp. 235–8.

<sup>152</sup> Al-Yunīnī, xix, p. 274 says that the siege started out badly with the Muslims attempting to build a covering (*sitāra*) for the mangonels, so they could be moved up close. However, the covering was top-heavy, so it fell into a deep pool of water, causing a number of mamluks to drown.

mangonels, and cast [payloads] against the Islamic mangonels, so that some were broken. A large number of Muslims were killed underneath [them]—there is no doubt that war is a back-and-forth matter,<sup>153</sup> and men are not safe in any homeland from war.

The sultanic [principal] tunnel was completed, and filled with firewood. This was lit on Wednesday, 17 Rabīʿ al-Awwal [May 23, 1285]. The fires were set in the middle of the tunnel underneath the tower on the corner of the bastion (*bāshūra*). [79] The Muslims rushed to scale the bastion, and the fighting escalated. Having tried to climb, the Muslims failed, and the rush was called off.

As this day ended, the tower fell, so the people imagined that it would be difficult to get into the fortress. That night the people spent in high anxiety because of this, due to the fact that the mangonels had failed, as was described, and the [other] tunnels were incomplete. None but God could plan forward.

When it was Friday [May 25],<sup>154</sup> God caused His grace to descend, and His most beautiful affection, rendering aid by “His angels brought close”<sup>155</sup> and all His armies. These descended hastily to aid Islam. God made the Franks believe that the tunnels under the rest of the walls were ready, and that the tunnels went under the moats (*khanādiq*) and from there to the towers, which connected to the walls. [Actually] the tunnels had been made under the moats using drainage conduits (*asriba*) underneath the towers, but the Franks were unaware of that.

Then they found out, and they were aghast. The feeling of defeat spread through them—they were certain they were as good as dead and that any taken prisoner would never be redeemed. Therefore, they sought to negotiate about a safe-conduct, and clement good treatment. After they had preferred death to life, they began to prefer life over death. It became clear to them that it would be all over for them only if they ignored themselves [and fought with abandon]. Therefore, they sought the mercy and clemency of our master the Sultan.

The matter ended up that our master the Sultan viewed the choice of plundering this huge fortress more preferable to lengthening the siege. Delay could mean disaster, and it is better to take what one can get. The Franks of the castle, even if they were safe from fire of swords, were not safe from the fire of death [hell-fire].

Therefore, he answered them positively with clemency and safe-conduct. They believed that the word of our master the Sultan was of more significance

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<sup>153</sup> The reference is to Abū Sufyān’s comment after the battle of Uḥud in 625, see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1991), i, p. 6 (no. 7).

<sup>154</sup> The day the Sultan entered the castle.

<sup>155</sup> Q4:172.

than oaths, so their nobles went to the Maṣṣūrī royal tent (*dihlīz*), asking for nothing but safe-conduct for themselves without anything else. None of their possessions or weaponry would be taken out, especially those connected with the fortress. However, those personal possessions could continue to be enjoyed.

The [Frankish] commanders asked for intercession concerning themselves, and kissed the earth in front of our master the Sultan, desiring an answer to their request. He allowed their nobles to ride with 25 “head” of laden horses and donkeys [80] and the possessions they specified for each of them, which was [equivalent to] 2000 Tyrean dinars. Then he wrote their safe-conducts.

Then they rose, together with the emir Fakhr al-Dīn al-Muqri’ the chamberlain, who took the castellan’s and the knights’ oaths. They handed over the fortress in its entirety at the 8th hour on Friday 18 Rabī’ al-Awwal [May 24, 1285]. The noble Sultanic victorious (Maṣṣūrī) standard (*ṣanjaq*) of al-Manṣūr rose, and the world’s tongues lifted forth in prayers for our master the Sultan, whose days had shown them this conquest which for so long had been unimaginable. Locks [of hair] have grown gray during the interval.

The Muslims ascended, and proclaimed from its very top the call to prayer and praise to God. Thanks to God for His vanquishing the Messiah’s slaves, their dwellings being liberated from them, and their intentions not availing them. The glad tidings were written to all of the [four] corners, and carried by the post-courier towards every direction.

Our master the Sultan ascended into the fortress on Saturday [June 1], and assembled the emirs and nobles in his service. They took counsel concerning whether to raze the fortress or to keep it [as it was]. There were those on both sides [of the question], but the opinion of our master the Sultan was burning in its penetration. His opinion was to keep it because of its strength and forbiddingness, its beauty and decoration.

Therefore, he determined to keep it as an affliction to the unbelievers’ hearts, and as a strong arm for the fortresses around it. He designated 1000 foot from the Uqjiyya (archers) and the Jarkhiyya (cross-bowmen) [regiments], and fighters, plus 400 engineers. Additionally, he designated a group of emirs, ones with [marching] bands (*ṭablkhānāt*), a group of the Baḥriyya, al-Ṣāliḥiyya and al-Manṣūriyya, 100 and 50 respectively.<sup>156</sup>

He took the [Hospitaller] mangonels against which they [the Muslims] had cast, so they became those from which they would cast. In the same way, the war-implements, the wood, the firewood, the arrows, and the armories, the burning oil (*naḥṭa*), and everything belonging to the fortress that was in the noble presence. He specified [81] in the region of Kafrtāb, the city of

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<sup>156</sup> See Reuven Amitai, “Foot Soldiers, Militiamen and Volunteers,” in Chase Robinson (ed.), *Texts, Documents and Artefacts: Islamic Studies in Honour of D.S. Richards* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), pp. 233–49, at p. 246.



Antioch, the city of Latakia, the port, and the region of Marqab, which was specifically under his control. This [region] had not been divided up into *iqṭā'* fiefs previous to its conquest.

He obtained in total from this settlement 1 million dirhams, and designated the expenditure for its settlement and the disbursement for its men upon the regions until they would be resettled and its people would return back. When these matters were completed, our master the Sultan, may God aid him, traveled and camped as part of an attack against the city of Balinyas [=Bāniyās]. [82]

### Poems

The owned (*mamlūk*) servant `Abdallāh Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir said:

*How many conquests other than this are to be made? So gather the conquest  
of the earth in, and finish it,*

*Rejoice and give glad tidings to the rest of the cities, write about yourself  
and have do others [as well],*

*Perfume letters like its walls from the saffron of your golden color,<sup>157</sup>*

*Do not reckon this aid, but take what you will after it, and then take stock,*

*You are the Father of Victory, and how many after it will say: This is my  
father, Victory,*

*O King of the World, whose resoluteness has eased the way up to Marqab,*

*O you who have the fear-inducing presence that tomorrow will fill the east  
and the west,*

*O inheritor of the world!<sup>158</sup> who from the beginning truth is sought from Him  
without concealment,*

*O you who has the army from which there is no refuge in the world from the  
one who seeks him,*

*O defeater of the Tatars, O one to whom they spoke of regret, while they  
were weeping,*

*Qalāwūn the Victorious (al-Manṣūr), how many times was Hūlegū the van-  
quished taken captive by him?*

*As for the likes of Abagha, Mengū [Temūr], Aḥmad, Arghun and Jūshkeb?  
The dead among them died from fear of him, while those who remain [alive]  
hide from terror,*

*O conqueror of the fortress, for which gratitude from Yathrib (=Medina)  
comes at its conquest,*

*A mighty fortress; those from before you never wrote about (conquering it),*

<sup>157</sup> Farsi: *rang*.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. Q21:105.

*When it began and mist surrounded it, you said there is a star (najm)  
 emerging in the darkness,  
 When its towers emerged to the eye, someone said: This is the (moving-)  
 star (kawkab) parade!  
 You caused war to break out because of it—how many sultans before you  
 desired this, but did not dare,  
 Then you rested from it, mounting the back [of the horse]; no fortress re-  
 mains that you did not put aside, [83]  
 You obtained the religion's due after so many years had passed without an-  
 yone obtaining it,  
 This your step is a mighty leap, the stepping point to the water-conduit,<sup>159</sup>  
 You led it through a thicket, while its lions carried it through the tight way,  
 How the enemies placed terror never had they seen the like before when it  
 had not been placed,  
 How many said about it when it was being formed, what fortifications have  
 not been destroyed by you?  
 As if they were stalks come yesterday to it as the growing-places of tender  
 and ripe [produce],  
 How many tunnels you commissioned, destructive bringing you the objective,  
 Its virgins were never ravished by one determined, but they bent over like one  
 pregnant, due to give birth,  
 Take pleasure in its glory as news of it has been obtained from its goodness,  
 so enjoy,  
 There is no more forbidding fortress after it, either in the far distance or  
 close up,  
 Know that felicity is the one that spoke, and said: God's victory is obligatory.*

Concerning it, this was written as an answer to the glad tidings from our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf:

*O king of the world, whose armies fill everything from west to east,  
 You are congratulated about the mighty fortress, who those previous to you  
 never conquered,  
 A fortress concerning which the unbelievers said: See what remains after this!  
 Every one of them said: Would that I was not created for this day!  
 So take pleasure in it as a conquest, and how many like it you will encounter  
 at the Gate of Acre.*

I saw in the enclosure of Ibn Durayd this:

*Marqab's hopes have become leveled, the horizons made difficult, rugged  
 of ascent.*

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<sup>159</sup> Presumably the water-conduits used to tunnel under Marqab's walls.

The entire enclosure of Ibn Durayd was destroyed, and it was transferred to the praise of our master the Sultan, for whom it was more befitting: [84]

*O unsheather of a sword of victory, he has told of a forelock, morning under  
the tails of the gloom,  
Burning its fires in their unbelief, like the burning of a flame in the midst  
of embers,  
He made peace, after drying their garden with his army, after the earth had  
been wet with dew,  
Casting their kings into a deep abyss; none inside of it will ever find a cure,  
Whoever's mules go the distance, his death befalls him before reaching it,  
Causing the enemies to descend by force, as it lurks high on a protruding  
winding ledge,  
Whoever has the horse whose liver has become exposed, the kidneys will be cut off,  
Carrying every speedy gallant (camel) perspicuous of mind, plunging into  
the clamoring sea,  
If the likes of death were a companion then no fear would stop him nor bend  
him over,  
If it were protected to the extent of life-blood from him, he would desire to  
pillage that which was protected,  
The people, a thousand of them like one, and one like a thousand, if the  
matter is serious,  
Qalāwūn is the king who people named a blessing and a gift to them,  
This one continues to rise high by his deed, until he tops the heights,  
If anyone outdid his generosity and his splendor they would ascend to the  
heavens,  
How many of the Tatars he defeated with his sword, among them the blind  
in need of guidance,  
His conduct has become good conversation in its totality for those who are  
conscientious,  
How his sword said to the aggressor: I am like a cure to every hidden  
malady,  
How many castles like Şahyūn and Burziyya have been ravished by pure  
hardness  
Marqab's hopes have become leveled, the horizons made difficult, rugged  
of ascent.  
He paid in full while the sun spat its spittle and the shadow under the shoe  
is like its opposite,  
How much aid he will receive afterwards, with enemies sweating buckets as  
a result,  
The destinies continue to protect his realm both from where he is unaware  
as well as aware,  
The fates begin to be obedient to his will, favoring those he favors and refus-  
ing those he refuses. [85]*

Among that which the owned one [Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir] stated in prose describing Marqab:

This castle is suspended from the star, and is connected to the clouds; it set the standard for all time, and its towers are alone with and intermingled with the constellations. How many inattentive overlook it, and were it not for exaggeration—asking forgiveness from God—you would almost say that it is under the protection of the Lotus Tree of the outermost limit.<sup>160</sup> It is as if the winds because of its goodness choke it, and the fogs because of its greenery make it speak. It is next to the [Mediterranean] sea; God has completed in it [the beauty of] ten castles.

Therefore, it became a slaughter-festival for the enemies, which was none other than the Slaughter Festival [at the close of the hajj]. It is a well-protected flock, as if it was the tower that Pharaoh desired for Haman (to build).<sup>161</sup> God made it beautiful to comprehend for the Muḥammadan community, and made giving it with the aid of the angels a beautiful collaboration. No longer will the realms boast of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Fortress of the Kurds) without adding this Fortress of the Turks.

By taking it the lands of the Ismailis (*bilād al-da`wa*) were made safe, both near and far, and this will be the Raqīm for every Cave that would be in them. How many times the People of the Cave were threatened by the rejected rebellious Satan, and how many times they witnessed in it “the dog stretching its paws in the yard.”<sup>162</sup>

How much silver and gold the brethren of Hospitallers’ House (*ikhwat bayt al-isbītār*) invested to construct it, which weighted qintars and more qintars!<sup>163</sup> How much they were brethren, and did not reckon like merchants in spending upon it! It is only called Marqab because its people ascend and watch.<sup>164</sup> The sultanic ravages only penetrated it because it is a jewel washed up by the sea upon this shore, and a jewel can only be strung after being perforated.

It borders the celestial realm in its height in talk about it, and in its furnishings, but it borders confinement because of the pillaging of its group that took place, and the taking of its inheritance.

### Mention of some reports about Marqab fortress

Historians have said: Marqab fortress was constructed by the Muslims on the coastline of Jabala, and it is a forbidding fortress, the like of which has not been seen. When its construction was completed in the year 454 [1062] its

<sup>160</sup> Q53:14; the *sidrat al-muntahā* is the outer boundary of Paradise.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. Q28:48, 40:26. In the Qur’ānic account Pharaoh and Haman are linked.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. Q1818:9, 18. According to the Qur’ānic version of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, Raqīm was the dog who guarded the entrance to their cave.

<sup>163</sup> The Hospitallers took it over from the Mazoir family in 1186.

<sup>164</sup> Marqab means a place where one watches.

garrison decided to trick the Byzantines, and so they [pretended] to sell it to them for a large sum.

They sent an elder and his two sons from among them to Antioch as hostages, so when the money reached them from the Byzantines they concealed around 300 men, and killed the Byzantines, taking a number of them prisoner, who they sold personally, ransoming the elder and his sons.<sup>165</sup>

It continued being in the Muslims' hands until the Franks came to Syria, and took over the lands, besieging it. Its lord, known as Ibn Maḥraz, sent to the *atābāk* Tughtakin<sup>166</sup> in the year 510 [1116–7] offering to turn over Marqab fortress to him because of the extreme hunger in it, and the lack of food. [86] He also sent to the Qādī Abū Muḥammad b. al-Ṣulay`a, who was the lord of Jabala, but was then in Damascus, offering him the fortress as well when he was in Damascus, so he said: "If you don't accept it from me, I will give it to the Franks."

*Atābak* Tughtakin indicated to Ibn al-Ṣulay`a that he should take it, tempting him to exchange Jabala for it, and promising him assistance. So Ibn al-Ṣulay`a departed for it, stopping to purchase the supplies he would need to last him for months in Ḥamāh and Shayzar. He handed it over, and abandoned his supporters, the children of Maḥraz, to one side when the situation was confirmed between them.

So he lived in it is, and his and his deputies' influence came to such an extent that they designed a ruse, and desired to take it [for themselves]. It is common knowledge that there was agricultural breakdown because of the weather in all of Syria, and a complete lack of food. This was in the year 511 [1117–8]. Ibn al-Ṣulay`a wrote to *atābak* Tughtakin at the hand of Ibn Maḥraz, lord of the fortress, asking him for assistance through supplies that he would carry to it.

It is common knowledge that during this time Roger [of Salerno], the ruler of Antioch, went out to Ḥamāh and Rafniyya, so the *atābak* went out towards him. Communication was exchanged between them about a peace, so Roger said to him, "These two cities are within my eyesight, so purchase them from me at the price of Marqab," and he agreed to a peace on that basis. He handed over four of his close retinue as hostages for keeping the agreement.

Roger returned to Antioch, and the *atābak* sent those to Marqab, ordering them to hand it over to the Franks, without any basis or exchange. They were frightened by that, and did not respond to that missive, but turned his envoys and the Franks aside. Ibn al-Ṣulay`a worried about the people around the region of Marqab, so sought to summon Ibn `Umarūn from the cave.

<sup>165</sup> Mentioned by Yāqūt, s.v. Marqab.

<sup>166</sup> Ruler of Damascus.

He departed from Marqab and went with him to the cave, so the inhabitants of Marqab fell upon that which belonged to Ibn al-Ṣulay`a, and robbed it from him. Ibn Maḥraz had already sent his father previous to that to Damascus as a hostage, but did not take into account that his father was a hostage in Damascus. Ibn Maḥraz authorized communication with the Franks in Balanyas [Bāniyas] concerning handing it over to them. His family were on one side of it, so they answered: Come, and Marqab was freed of him.

After a few days they expelled him from it, and compensated him with al-Maniqa. Marqab was garrisoned with Franks and Armenians. After that they took the fortress of al-Qulay`a and the Iron Fortress on Jabal Bahrā', each one handing over the other, as its people fled.

Roger demanded 10,000 dinars for the hostages, so the *atābak* communicated with them. He said, "You have received the fortress, but if I had not destroyed their hopes, they would have never handed it over." However, they did not pay any attention to him, and punished the hostages, killing some of them, selling others. They obtained the fortress and the possessions, and it remained a coal in the midst of the region, a base for fighting the servants [of God], until it was obtained at the hand of our master the Sultan, praise be to God for that. [87]

### **Mention of taking Maraḳiyya/Maraclea and its fortress, and razing it**

When our master the Sultan, may God aid him, was finished with the cares of Marqab, he camped aggressively, as was mentioned, and authorized the matter of Maraḳiyya fortress, giving the opinion that it should be captured. It was confirmed that in the midst of this fortress there was an internal disease. He would not obtain rest nor security by being or staying in it.

Its ruler was known as Bartholomew, one of the Frankish nobles. When Krak des Chevaliers (*ḥiṣn al-akrād*) was conquered he was not able to stay in this region, since it was too small for him, so it enflamed him, and he joined the Mongols seeking refuge, provisions, aid, and numbers. He stayed there a number of years in that state.

When al-Malik al-Zāhir died, may God have mercy on him, he returned to this region, taking the opportunity, and sought to renovate Maraḳiyya. He was unable to do that, and was afraid that it would be taken from him, so he renovated a fortress opposite it, strengthening it and beautifying it. The Prince [Bohemond VII], ruler of Tripoli, assisted him in that, and others from the Hospitaller Franks as well aided and assisted him—the inhabitants of Marqab and others.

This tower is between Tortosa and Marqab on the Mediterranean Sea (lit. salt sea), opposite the city of Maraḳiyya. There are two quick bow-shots or more between it and the sea. [88]

### Its description

It is a square tower, its breadth close to its length, each side 25 ½ working cubits (*dhirā` bi-l`amal*), while the thickness of its walls is seven cubits. It is seven stories, and was constructed upon boats (*marākib*) sunk in the midst of the sea, in which there are many loads of stones. Under each section of it there are 900 (!) boatloads sunk,<sup>167</sup> in which there were stones. Between every two stones on its walls, there are two connecting iron rods, interwoven with lead. Inside of this there is an immense cistern, and a vault above the cistern. Above the vault there are wooden beams, and above the beams small rocks. Above the small rocks there is straw mattress (*khaysh*), while above the straw mattress there are tightened ropes of hemp.

When a mangonel is placed in the dry land, and cast, it does not matter at what it is cast—the stone will fall from above it into the water. In it there are 100 fighters, and behind this tower, there is another tower connected to it, in which there are three aimed mangonels. This fortress will not be taken by siege or being encircled.

The deputies at Ḥiṣn al-Akrād and these parts, when this fortress was built, were unable to prevent it from being renovated because the materials and war-implements were arriving from the sea. The situation compelled them to renovate a tower close by, in a village called May`ār. 50 men were garrisoned by turns, but it did not help. Nothing worked.

When our master the Sultan personally saw this fortress in this strong and forbidding condition, that the tower built opposite was harming its builders, and not benefiting them. Additionally, that besieging it would not be possible because of its being in the sea, that the Muslims did not have boats capable of cutting off its provisions or to prevent comings and goings to it, that the whole matter would be long and arduous, that the matter from which he began would [require him] to return, and that probably it would only be captured by the forces of planning rather than by troops.

After considering these facts, he went to the ruler of Tripoli and said to him,

The [89] armies have dispersed, and none of them remain other than you. This tower, you built it, truthfully, were it not for your assistance; it would have never been built. You are the one responsible for it. Either it is razed or else we will take in compensation from your lands wealth that would benefit you to pay the lord of Maraḳiyya with it. You will regret it when regret no longer benefits you. The covering will then be ripped away, as the stipend is revoked.

When the Prince was cognizant of this iron resolve [on the part of the Sultan], and realized what type of destruction of his region, fortresses and general

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<sup>167</sup> Presumably to provide a foundation for the tower.



harm was implicit in it, and that the king of the whole earth (*al-basīṭa*) with his awe-inspiring army was at his gates, that he had camped in his quarter, and that he had decreed either it was him or razing this fortress, he went to hand it over, and raze it.

He compelled its lord to be satisfied with the wealth he was able to give him, and possession of properties, after hardship from the ruler of Maraḡiyya. Maraḡiyya's ruler's son had been present surreptitiously at the gates of our master the Sultan, and comprehended his obtaining that fortress and its being handed over to our master the Sultan, he went to Acre secretly with the post-courier.

The people of Acre detained him. News of him came to his father, so he came from Tripoli to Acre to get him, and he killed him in the middle of Acre. This entire endeavor was then voided, but then he agreed to hand it over through the agency of the Prince. So he conceded and willingly handed it over to the Muslims. The Prince sent a number of Franks to render aid in razing it, and so it was as God Most High said, "They destroyed their houses with their (own) hands and the hands of the believers."<sup>168</sup>

The ruler of Tripoli sent a man who was one of his close supporters to be present at its being razed, as a commander over those Franks coming for that purpose, removing the excuses for summoning razing implements for iron and other things. He [the sultan] designated the emir Badr al-Dīn Baktāsh al-Najmī, *amīr jāndār* (guard), accompanied by 100 stone-workers for razing it. The emir [90] of the *ispahsalār* [of 40], Rukn al-Dīn Ṭaqṣū al-Manṣūrī, accompanied by a number of the army, had been previously dispatched to Jabala, so our master the Sultan wrote to him and them, ordering them to be present opposite the tower, to render aid and support in razing it.

It was razed stone by stone, and the effort did not leave the smallest trace. This was after weariness had overcome [the workmen] because of its strength, the hardness of the stones, and even the strong became vexed by the amount of time it took. God granted grace in removing its remains, and its base, and God sufficed for the believers against its evil, stopping its harm, and cancelling out its cunning. Its place remains empty in the hearts of the unbelievers, and among that which was composed concerning it:

*How the Prince disputed over Maraḡiyya on behalf of its lord, and how he caused him to flee,*

*So on the morrow, while your sword was behind and in front of him, and the swords of your cunning were aimed at the throats,*

*His son was killed intentionally in the midst of Acre, but he came to the strong tower and destroyed it. [91]*

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<sup>168</sup> Q59:2 (concerning the Banū al-Naḡīr).

### **Mention of his renewing appointments after that ...**

Among it was the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar*'s son's induction into the service of our master the Sultan, and the confirmation of his father's situation as a result.

When our master the Sultan resolved to move from his dwelling near to Balanyas [Bāniyas] the emir Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṣamghār, son of the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar*, was present and sought the aid of the emirs in asking our master the Sultan for clemency and indulgence. Our master the Sultan acted in pardon and humility, tolerance and mercy. Shughur and Bakās were handed over to him on 4 Rabī' al-Awwal of that year [May 10, 1285].

Those who relied upon oaths from the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar* turned from the sultanic gates. The emir Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṣamghār, son of the emir Shams al-Dīn, were present at the formal ceremony of our master the Sultan in Damascus, and from it [returning] to Egypt, and settled at the apex of bounty, honor and lacking nothing. He was liberated from the worries about his father, his land-possession, and everything connected with that. [92]

### **Among that was the handing over of the fortress of Balāṭīnus and reclaiming it**

In that year [684/1285] the emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Aldakazi, the deputy in Balāṭīnus, willingly handed it over. Our master the Sultan had designated the emir Rukn al-Dīn Ṭaqṣū al-Manṣūrī, together with 2000 horsemen from Marqab, to surround it, prior to the siege and encampment. He learned of the talk concerning handing that fortress over in secret, privately from the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar*, because he had been appointed governor over it.

At that time the emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Aldakazi locked the gates and called up the army, so they came to him, and the border with Balāṭīnus was safe. This was on Sunday, 8 Ṣafar [April 15, 1285], the 8th hour of the day. A group of the Manṣūriyya [regiment] were assigned to it, and the good-treatment of our master the Sultan covered the emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Aldakazi.

### **Among that was the peace with Takfūr [Leon III], ruler of Sīs**

When our master the Sultan was encamped at Marqab fortress the commander (*kamandūr*) of the Templars in the Armenian lands was present, together with an oral message from the ruler of Sīs. A gift and correspondence were forthcoming from Leon, as well as correspondence from the commander (*muqaddam*) of the Templars. These contained a petition concerning the ruler of Sīs, and a request of clemency for him, accepting his apology.

The reason for the request, together with the Templar commander presenting his envoys to the sultanic gates, was that the envoys of the ruler of Sīs,

every time they had presented themselves, were held back and detained,<sup>169</sup> without giving him an answer. Therefore, he subtly wanted to use the assistance of [93] the Templar commander such that the presence of the commander (*al-kamandūr*) could serve as a go-between and [someone who would] right the issue.

The Templar commander had rendered service to our master the Sultan which made answering his petition necessary in this case. His inviolability was in return for the acceptance of his intercession. Our master the Sultan received the commander (*kamandūr*) and the gift, which was an impressive gift of silver, fabrics, and other things.

He [Leon III]<sup>170</sup> asked for his annual payment to be established for each year. There was a continual demand for [the fortress of] Bahasnā from him, but he haggled and gave many excuses. Eventually it was agreed that he would pay 1 million dirhams annually in fees and other payments. These would be divided into silver bricks, worth 500,000 dirhams [weight] equivalent to 700,000 dirhams [in coin], horses and mules in good condition, 50 head, with iron horseshoes, 10,000 horseshoes with their nails, to be transported to any area ordered. The rest of the total would be gifts, fabrics and other things.

It was agreed that each merchant who had been detained by him would be freed with his possessions and goods. In compensation for any one of them who had died, a prisoner of equal status would be freed. The possessions of the dead man would be sent from them [the Armenians], and every Muslim imprisoned in his land would be set free.

This truce was ordered and arranged, and our master the Sultan swore on it for him Thursday 2 Rabī' al-Ākhir [June 7, 1285], while the emir Fakhr al-Dīn al-Muqrī went on his way to swear the ruler of Sīs, and to present the fee agreed upon for this year, as well as bringing the merchant prisoners and others.

The peace of Sīs was arranged in this written form, and established matters for the good. The treasuries were benefited by this large quantity which was brought each year. Even if Sīs had been conquered, and resettled, it would not have provided such a surplus.<sup>171</sup>

### The copy of the truce and the oath

I say, being Leon [III], son of Hethoum, son of Constantine, by (*wa*) God, by God, by God, BY (*ta*) God, BY God, BY God, in God, in God, in God, by the truth of the Messiah, by the truth of the Messiah, by the

<sup>169</sup> Because Armenia was in alliance with the Mongols. But at this time, with the weakening of Mongol power, the Armenians wanted to improve their relations with the Mamluks.

<sup>170</sup> Holt understands this to refer to Leo; the syntax of the text is rather ambivalent.

<sup>171</sup> Compare Holt, *Early Mamluk*, pp. 95–105.

truth of the Messiah, by the truth of the Cross, by the truth of the Cross, by the truth [94] of the Cross, by the truth of the Gospel, by the truth of the Gospel, by the truth of the Gospel, by the truth of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, by the truth of the great Cross upon which the noblest of humanity was raised, by the truth of the triune hypostases in one essence, by the truth of the four Gospels, which were transmitted by Matthew, Luke, Mark and John, by the truth of their prayers and sanctifications, by the truth of the 12 Disciples, and the 318 assembled in the church [at Nicaea], by the truth of the voice that descended upon the Jordan [River] and rebuked it,<sup>172</sup> by the truth of God who send down the Gospel to Jesus son of Mary, the Holy Spirit, and His Word,<sup>173</sup> by the blessed Mother of Light Mary Maryam [sic], by John the Baptist, Saint Thomas, and Saint Matthew,<sup>174</sup> by the truth of the Great Fast, by the truth of my religion and my holding fast to Christianity, by the baptism I have received from the priests and fathers, and by the truth of every father who offers the Eucharist.

I, from this time, and this hour, have purified my intention, and made pure my innards in obedience and loyalty to our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, Sayf al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, Sultan of Islam and the Muslims, lord of kings and sultans, Sultan of the Egyptian homelands and the Syrian, Aleppan and Euphrates lands, the castles of Rūm and its lands, and the lands of the east, the king of the outstretched earth, Abū al-Faḥ Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī, oath-partner (*qasīm*) with the Commander of the Believers [the caliph], and his son, the heir-Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, 'Alā' al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, 'Alī, the friend of the Commander of the Believers, and his son al-Malik al-Ashraf, Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, Khalīl, the helper of the Commander of the Believers.<sup>175</sup>

With regard to the entirety of this truce laid forth in the recitation of this oath, which its duration is ten complete, continuous, and consecutive years, and ten hours, the first of which is blessed Thursday, the beginning of the month of Rabī' al-Ākhir year 684 [June 6, 1285] of the prophetic *hijra*, may the prayers and peace of God be upon the one who

<sup>172</sup> Matthew 3:16.

<sup>173</sup> Although the earlier phrases are identifiably Christian, the description of Jesus as receiving the Gospel is from Q57:27, Jesus is said to have been fortified with *rūḥ al-quḍus* in Q2:253, and to be God's Word in Q4:171.

<sup>174</sup> St. Thomas played an important role in the Armenians' conversion, see Step'anos Taronec'i, *The Universal History of Step'anos Taronec'i* (trans. Tim Greenwood, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 126–7.

<sup>175</sup> This appears to be the earliest point at which al-Ashraf is given formal prominence.

did it, which corresponds to 7 Ḥazīrān year 1596 of the Alexander son of Philip the Greek.

I will keep it to the last [95] of its period, act according to its conditions, each of its conditions, obligating myself to be loyal to it, and what it contains, not demonstrating opposition to it in word, deed, hint, or indication. I will not reinterpret this my oath or the previously mentioned truce, nor scheme to abrogate it, or any part of it, or ask for a second opinion about it, or any part of it, nor of any of the conditions of the previously mentioned truce.

If I abrogate it, abrogate any part of it, or ask for a second opinion, or ask for a second opinion of any part of it, then everything that I possess, whether silent or speaking, will be a donation to the poor and indigent Christians. I must also walk to Jerusalem (*al-bayt al-muqaddas*) barefoot, without a head covering, on foot, 30 times, and I must fast for a long period (*dahar*), if I violate any of the conditions of this truce, or any part of it, or intend something that would nullify my fidelity to it, or any part of it, from its beginning to the end of the specified period of this truce covered by this oath, which is:

This blessed truce which is established between our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the most majestic lord, the knowing, the just, the victorious, Sayf al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, the Sultan of Islam and the Muslims, Abū al-Faṭḥ Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī, the oath-partner (*qasīm*) of the Commander of the Believers, and his son, and heir-apparent, the vice-sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, Alā' al-Dīn,<sup>176</sup> Abu al-Ḥasan `Alī, the friend of the Commander of the Believers, and his son the master al-Malik al-Ashraf, Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, Khalīl, the helper of the Commander of the Believers, may God make their sultanate eternal.

And the majestic king Leon, son of the king Hethoum, son of Constantine, king of the Armenians, for the period of ten years, complete, continuous and consecutive, ten months, ten days and ten hours, the first of which is Thursday the beginning of Rabī' al-Ākhir, year 684 [June 6, 1285] [96], which corresponds to the same day, 7 Ḥazīrān year 1596 of the calendar of Alexander son of Philip the Greek.

Covering the lands of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, his castles, fortresses, his realms, cities, regions, and the subjects of his lands, including armies, troops, soldiers, levies, Turkmen, Kurds, Arabs,

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<sup>176</sup> As opposed to the form of `Alā' al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn used in other treaties.

Muslims and Christians, and other sects of people altogether, according to their different religions, and peoples. Included are also their possessions, quadrupeds, both silent and speaking,<sup>177</sup> traveling by night or pasturing, moving or stationary, land or sea, ports, coastlands, plains and mountains, habited and uninhabited.

These are the realm of the Egyptian homelands, its border ports, its lands, its ports, its coastlands, and its dry lands, the coastal realm, and its coastlands, ports, and dry lands, the realm of Kerak, the realm of Shawbak, the realm of al-Ṣalt and al-Balqā', the realm of `Ajlūn, the realm of Ṣarkhand, the realm of al-Ṣubayba, the realm of Safed and al-Shaqīf, the realm of [97] Damascus, the Ba`lbakan realm, the rest of the Syrian realms, the Islamic castles, the Ḥimṣan realm, of Raḥba, and the conquered castles: Ḥiṣn `Akkār, and its conquests, Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, and its conquests, Marqab fortress and its conquests and ports, Bāniyās, and the conquest and land that is part of it, Jabala, Latakia, and the Lady's land, the realm of Balāṭīnus, and its lands, the realm of Ṣahyūn, and its lands, the Shayzaran realm, the Ḥamān realm, the Aleppan realm, the realm of Baghrās, the realm of al-Darbsāk, the realm of `Ayntāb, Burj al-Raṣāṣ, al-Rāwandān, Tell Bāshir, Manbij, Qal'at Ja`bar, the realm of al-Bīra, the realm of Karkar, the realm of al-Kakhtā [98] Qaṭīna and Bāblū, and the region to which the boundaries of the Sultan's lands reach adjoining the eastern realms and the [Seljuq] Rūm—all of the lands in which the hand of our master the Sultan al-Manṣūr's deputies extend to the date of this truce.

This includes lands, conquests, boundaries, cultivated lands, and castles, together with that which God Most High will conquer at the hand of our master the Sultan, at the hand of his armies, troops, expeditions, from the lands and regions, border-regions, villages, properties, summer-habitations and winter-habitations, east and west, far and near.

Also this includes the sultanic lands that were mentioned as well as those which were not, those and that in them, and includes the lands of King Leon son of King Hethoum that are presently in his hand for the duration of this truce, which those well-known lands, that are his, affirming the lands of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, both what was specified and what was not specified.

The lands of King Leon presently in his hands are safe, tranquil, based upon the principles of peace, and the affirmation of truce towards it, and the subjects upon it, his princes (*umarā'*), armies, those connected with

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<sup>177</sup> Holt understands this to be “dead or alive.”

him, and related to him, the possessions, quadrupeds, villages, agricultural lands, and properties contained within his lands are protected from neighbors during night and day, going out and returning, evening and morning, roads protected, guarded in the extremities and sides, on land and sea, from those who seek to harm, those whose hands seek aggression, and would-be robbers, whether they are small-time thieves or raiders, and corruptors. None should harm from one side to the other in any way that negates the conditions of this truce.

Nor shall the law of the peace that has been established be broken, and knowledge of it shall be firm in the minds. Merchants shall pass back and forth between the two sides with their possessions, goods, merchandise, coming out and going forth. Let them be escorted to the boundaries of the lands, and not prevented from passing back and forth nor harmed for any reason.

On the condition that King Leon, son of King Hethoum, shall pay to our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, and his son, the heir-apparent, Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ 'Alā' al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, and his son Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf each year from the acceptance-date of this truce until the completion of its duration in accord with the established tax (*qaṭī'a*) upon himself, his subjects and his lands, what will be [99] detailed, in cash, yearly, in advance:

1. of silver bricks *al-talgham al-takfūriyya* (the Armenian *tahegan*)<sup>178</sup> 500,000 dirhams in weight, half of it being 250,000 dirhams.
2. of good horses, good mules 50 “head”; good mixed-breed horses (*akādīsh*),<sup>179</sup> 25 “head”; 25 good mules.
3. of good iron horseshoes (*taṭābīq*), 10,000 shoes, with their nails, to be transported to any direction commanded in the sultanic lands.

The transport of this should be established for each year from his realm, and for the first year it should be in advance. Transportation of this specified total should continue each year until the completion of this blessed truce.

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<sup>178</sup> Following Holt, p. 99, note. 10. Paul Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1962), pp. 86–8 notes that few of Leon III's coins have survived, as he debased the weight to 60–70% silver during the course of his reign, and theorizes that most coins were melted during later periods.

<sup>179</sup> See al-Ghassānī, *al-Aqwāl al-kāfiya wa-l-fuḍūl al-shāfiya fī al-khayl* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1987), pp. 361–2, describing them among the non-Arab horses, being little better than mules and not fit for fighting.



On the condition that King Leon undertakes to set free all those Muslim merchants he has imprisoned from different groups and ethnicities with their possessions, goods, mamluks, concubines, horses and mules, and set free all the captive imprisoned Muslims in his citadels and in his lands from the other people's ethnicities, according to their ethnicities and types, and send all of them to the upper gates, not placing any obstacle against them, and to provision them to the upper gates.

Whoever among the Muslim merchants has died in King Leon's imprisonment, King Leon undertakes to reimburse the merchants' wealth who have died imprisoned to our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, together with their mamluks, their concubines, their goods, without concealing any of it. In addition, he undertakes likewise for a merchant who died because of a prisoner.

Whatever of his goods, possessions or slaves has been spent he shall reimburse its value of what has been spent to our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, may God immortalize his dominion, and to send that to our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr without making any excuses.

On the condition that our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr free to King Leon all of his detained envoys, young soldiers and courtiers who have been imprisoned in Egypt and Syria. If there are any Armenian merchants imprisoned, then they will be set free with their present wealth, and on the condition that nothing would happen to the merchants going back and forth between the two sides, nor any new injustice be committed against them. No increase in the escort-price shall be extracted from either side, and they shall be treated with justice and fairness.

On the condition that whoever enters the land of the Armenians from the land of [Seljuq] Rūm [100] or the lands of the east and west, 'Irāq, Baghdad, Persia, and other lands, intending to go to the sultanic lands, whether merchants, subjects, delegates, and all other peoples in totality, making room for their presence in the sultanic lands, without presenting obstacles to them or hindering them. These will not be strengthened by the Tatars' subjects, their children or those connected to them.

On the condition that whenever one of the Muslim merchants dies in the lands of King Leon, his wealth will be guarded, and handed over to the deputy of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr so that they can act upon it in accordance with the Noble Law (*sharī'a*). King Leon has the same rights with regard to the Armenian merchants of his lands who die in the sultanic lands.

On the condition that if a ship belonging to either of the two sides breaks apart in the other's land, what is found in it will be guarded and protected, and handed over to the side from which the deceased merchant comes. If this merchant is one of the subjects of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr or from one of his servants, then it will be handed over to the deputies of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, but if he is from the subjects of King Leon, it will be handed over to his deputies so they can act upon it in accordance with justice and fairness.

On the condition that whenever anyone flees from the lands of our master the Sultan, whoever it is, whether commander (*amīr*) or commanded, mamluk or free from the rest of the groups, ethnicities or religions, and enters the land of the Armenians, King Leon and his deputies are obligated to arrest him, and send him under guard to the sultanic gates, together with everything that he took while fleeing, and the companions, slave-boys, horses, mules, fabrics, wealth, and anything else that are to be found.

If the flier were to convert to Christianity, leaving his religion, King Leo is obligated to return him to our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, without any excuses, nor making any special case for him. If one of the subjects of King Leo flees with his servants, and troops, and continues with his religion, then the deputies of the Sultan are obligated to return him to him. If he enters into the religion of Islam, the wealth found on him will be returned.

On the condition that forbidden articles—weapons, supplies, and other things—from the sultanic lands will continue to be forbidden as usual. On the condition that King Leon will not forbid any of the merchants or others from importing mamluks, concubines, horses, mules, and other types of goods from being present into the sultanic lands, nor present obstacles, nor make room for anyone to obstruct them, but open the road to them to import mamluks, concubines, goods, horses, mules and other types of things, different ethnicities of mamluks and concubines, without anyone obstructing them. [101]

On the condition that whenever booty is taken or one of the two sides is killed, the killer will be handed over for retaliation, and the booty will be returned as is, if it is present, or its value, if it is lost. Compensation will be made for the slain one after returning his wealth by a prisoner of equal status: a knight for a knight, a turcopole for a turcopole, a merchant for a merchant, a foot soldier for a foot soldier, and a peasant for a peasant.

If the matter of the slain one or that of the booty is obscure, then there should be a grace period for investigation for 40 days. If the matter is not resolved, then the responsible one for that side should be sworn, together with three others chosen by the other side. If the matter of the booty or the slain one comes to light after the oath, then the matter will proceed in a quest for the truth.

On the condition that [the fortress of] Qal'at al-Rūm and the prelate (*khalīfa*) of the Armenians, the Catholicos, who resides there, his monks and those connected with him, with its wealth, and the subjects and peasants in it are included in the scope of this truce as was established during the Zāhirī one.

On the condition that King Leon does not renovate the building of a castle nor fortify it, and on the condition that whenever there are peasants from [Seljuq] Rūm or the sultanic lands in Leon's lands, he will return the latter to the sultanic lands. Whichever monks are imprisoned will be freed, and if there are Armenian peasants in the sultanic lands they will be returned.

This truce will be established with its stipulations and principles as laid out until the termination of its period. It will not be abrogated by the death of kings on either side, nor by the removal of a deputy or a governor, or by the appointment of another, nor by the interference of a third party, by the victorious [102] hand of the Tatars or others.

But the regulations of this truce will be established as is, and I obligate myself to it, and will be loyal to it in all of its stipulations, not departing from it, from any of this truce's regulations, nor will I surreptitiously give information about the lands of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, nor of his armies, his subjects to anyone intending to raid them, to injure or to harm them, nor will I enter into mutual consultation that will lead to evil or wrong, nor do well by the enemies of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, neither aiding them, helping them, making agreements with them by hinting or by document, by sending of envoys, by correspondence or by meeting face-to-face.

On the contrary, I will watch out for myself, and my lands, and make every effort to guard the lands of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, preventing those from any land who would take steps against him, either harming or aggression, whenever that would occur, and, taking refuge in God, were abrogation from one of the two sides

to occur, the merchants, travelers, those passing back and forth would be safe, tranquil about their persons, their possessions, goods, mamluks, concubines, horses and mules, and there would be a grace-period of 40 days so that all could return to a place of safety for him and his homeland with his goods, his wealth, without being molested during the period of this blessed truce, which the beginning of which is 1 Rabīʿ al-Ākhir in the year 684 [June 6, 1285] of the Prophetic *hijra*, may the prayers and peace of God be upon the one who accomplished that, which corresponds to 7 Ḥazīrān in the year 1595 of the Alexandrine [calendar] of Philip the Greek.

I, by God, and the truth of my religion, my worship, and what I hold fast to, I am obligated by the entirety of this truce. This oath is my oath, and I am Leon son of Hethoum. The intention in it is the intention of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, Sayf al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, Qalāwūn al-Šāliḥī, and the intention of his son, the heir Sultan al-Malik al-Šāliḥ, ʿAlāʾ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, and the heir Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf, Šalāḥ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, and the intention of those who have sworn to them. There is no intention other than theirs, nor purpose other than theirs. I ask God to bear witness against me in that, “and God is the guarantor of what I say,”<sup>180</sup> and the Messiah is a witness against me in that, and upon every instance of condition and agreement upon the date previously mentioned.<sup>181</sup>

The emir Fakhr al-Dīn al-Muqrī, the chamberlain, went on his way, accompanied by the envoys, to the ruler of Sīs, with the truce, and returned with the agreed upon wealth, in accord with what has been delineated. The prisoners—merchant and [other] Muslims—were brought [103] with their possessions and goods, while Baron Bahram, one of the nobles of their state, was present.<sup>182</sup> The commander (*kumandūr*) who facilitated this peace was also present.

When they were present in front of our master the Sultan, then all of the envoys and their youths (*ghilmān*) who had been detained in Damascus were set free, and he commanded those envoys, who were in the Egyptian homelands, to be set free as well. A small number of prisoners and some of the possessions were held back to be sent to whomever made claim upon them.

The truce contained [provision] for setting free all of the prisoners, so some of the companions of Ibn Qaramān and others were also held back. The excuse for this was that the Qaramānites and those from [Seljuq] Rūm were

<sup>180</sup> Cf., e.g., Q12:11.

<sup>181</sup> This truce is thoroughly analyzed by Stewart, *Armenian Kingdom*, pp. 55–61.

<sup>182</sup> Unidentified.

prisoners, as they were his enemies, and there existed between them and him a state of war. If those prisoners were to be liberated, then their [the Qaramānī's] prisoners should also be liberated.

The excuse used for the Rūmis was that they were in a state of obedience to unbelief,<sup>183</sup> so our master the Sultan said,

All the Muslims are my responsibility, and they have no sultan who will redeem them from imprisonment, and fight their enemies other than me. It is necessary for those Qaramānī prisoners, because they are obedient to me, and to not render aid other than to raise my flag, so then I will be obligated to the envoys to return them.

The matter was separated out according to this [principle], and those who sought to accompany him were asked to do so.

Among this was the arrangement of a general peace (*muwāda`a*) with the Lady of Beirut<sup>184</sup> on the condition that she pay for the boat, and rights of water and fire in foreign coin (*al-`ajami*) some 90,000 dirhams. She paid from the total wealth 30,000 dirhams, and the payment of the rest after three months was agreed upon.

Among this was the truce of Tyre being established, which was:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This blessed truce is established between our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Mansur, Sayf al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, Sultan of Islam and the Muslims, the oath-partner of the Commander of the Believers, and his son, and heir-apparent, the Sultan al-Malik al-Šālih, `Alā' al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn `Alī, friend of the Commander of the Believers, and his son, al-Malik al-Ashraf [104] Šalāh al-Dīn Khalīl, may God make their sultanate eternal, and cause their rule (*dawla*) to continue, and the noble queen, Dame Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry, the son of Prince Bohemond, the lady (*mālika*) of Tyre, upon the establishment of this truce, and her deputy in the realm of Tyre, the noble count Sir Raymond, the Viscount, for the period of ten complete, continuous and consecutive years, the first of which is Thursday, 14 Jumādā al-Awwal the year 684 [July 18, 1285] of the prophetic *hijra*, may the prayer and peace of God be upon the one who accomplished that, which corresponds to 18 Tammūz of the year 1596 of the Alexandrine [calendar], following one after the other, in accord with what was established at the end of the days of al-Malik al-Zāhir, with hours, days, months and years following each other until the end of it binding over all the Islamic lands which constitute part of our master the Sultan al-Malik

<sup>183</sup> Because of their alliance with the Mongols.

<sup>184</sup> Margaret of Montfort.

al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī, the Commander of the Believers' oath-partner's kingdoms' lands.

His lands, castles, cities, fortresses, and all contained in the realm of the Egyptian homelands, the border ports, the coastlands, the castles and the cities which are in it, the Syrian realm, and the border fortresses, castles, fortresses, and cities contained in it, the coastal border ports, and the fortresses contained in it, namely, the dry lands, the ports, and the lands.

And the lands of Ba`lbak, Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāh, and the noble conquests, of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād and Ḥiṣn `Akkār, and what is connected to them, included in them, meaning border fortresses, and allied lands, fortresses, dry lands and coastal lands, the Aleppan realm and the Antiochene conquests, that which is adjoining the Safedan and the Shaqīfan realms, and other castles, fortresses and lands—binding upon all that is contained within the realm of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn: realms, fortresses, castles, border fortresses, [105] cities, villages, coastlands, ports, dry lands, near and far, plains and hills, habited and uninhabited, valleys and highlands, east and west, Yemen and Ḥijāz, Syria and Egypt, and the villages, agricultural lands, rivers, mills, towers, and gardens that are included in it.

Everything that is contained in these realms, in addition to the armies, soldiers, subjects, Bedouin, Turkmen, Kurds, peasants, and other ethnicities of people altogether, in accord with their different ethnicities, differing forms (*ashkāl*) and religions, covering their possessions, quadrupeds, according to their differing types of fur and hair, and possessions of different types.

These previously mentioned realms, and what they contain, those people in them altogether, dwelling, serving, passing back and forth, those merchants and travelers both from there and in there, are safe, tranquil, of their persons, their possessions, and their quadrupeds in situations of going and coming, traveling and staying, as well as for their allies in the lands and directions, what God will conquer at the hand of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, at the hands of his children, their armies, troops and soldiers—fortresses, lands and castles—it is applicable to all of them, and those in them, as well as what is in them, all are under the scope of this blessed truce until the end of its period.

Applicable also to the lands of the Lady Dame Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry, son of Prince Bohemond, specified for her especially, and in condominium, in this truce. This is the city of Tyre, what its walls and fringe areas encompass specifically, the lands that are in it which are agricultural, in

which there are vegetables and sugar-cane, and presses not currently being utilized, which are al-Ma`shūqa and Rashmūn—lands of olive groves on the fringes which are not currently utilized, the garden of al-`Awjā, which is not currently utilized, and vegetable-gardens (*hakūrāt*)<sup>185</sup> and mills, which surround the city of Tyre. These previously mentioned fringe areas, with the sugar cane and agricultural land for vegetables and the presses that are part of the fringe areas are specifically belonging to Tyre.

This on the condition that Rashmūn, al-Ma`shūqa and the garden of al-`Awjā are lands on the fringes of Tyre which are unutilized, and are not [106] villages, and on the condition that our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr, and his sons the Sultan al-Malik al-Şāliḥ and al-Malik al-Ashraf, may God aid them, receive five of Tyre's most prosperous and abundant properties in terms of money (*`ayn*) and harvest specifically for them. This was established in the sultanic private lands (*al-khāṣṣ al-sharīf*) from the Zāhirī days—and they are: Qānā, and its village agricultural land, al-Aşrifiyā, and its agricultural land, Maḥrūna, as a whole, al-Majādil, as a whole, and Kafr Dūnīn, as a whole, in accord with what was established during the last of the Zāhirī days.

These five villages specifically, in their totality with their lands, boundaries and dues, and all of what is applied and ascribed to them, belong to our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr, and to his children, without sharing them at all.

Margaret, the lady of Tyre, enumerates ten properties belonging to Tyre of its villages of the field of Tyre specifically for her according to what was established in the Zāhirī truce. These ten properties belong specifically to the realm of Tyre as they are specified by name in it. These are:<sup>186</sup> `Ayn Abū `Abdallāh, al-Qāsimiyya, Siddayn, Maḥlab, al-Marfūq, al-Jārūdiyya, al-Ḥamadiyya, Madfana, Ra's al-`Ayn, and the Hospitallers' Tower (*burj al-isbitalār*).

These ten enumerated properties with their dues, boundaries, and lands, and what is included within them are specifically belonging to the lady of Tyre, Dame Margaret, the lady of Tyre.

On the condition that the remainder of the lands of Tyre, altogether, with the agricultural lands [shall be shared],<sup>187</sup> which are 78 agricultural properties, and they are the following: al-Ṭālibiyya, Darīna, al-Dahariyya,

<sup>185</sup> Following Holt.

<sup>186</sup> Following Holt's reconstruction of these names.

<sup>187</sup> Addition from Holt, p. 112, all the below names are from Holt.



al-Fatūniyya, al-`Athiyya, Wādī al-Ḥujjāj, al-`Izziyya, al-Baḥtiyya (?), al-Mālikiyya, `Amrān Monastery, al-Sha`atiyya, the Church (?), Batolie (=Bayt Ḥulā), al-Ḥaniyya, Qānūn Monastery, `Ayn Ib`al, al-Ziyādāt, Ḥanawa, Ya`tar, Banī Dafna`, Ḥāris, `Ayā, Ṣiddīqīn, Ra`s Kanānīn, Ruqliyya, `Ayūt, with its agricultural land, the salt-pans of Saḥnūniyya, al-Farāqiyya, Ṭarabiyya, [...] Monastery,<sup>188</sup> al-Ma`liyya, al-Ḥumayra, Zubqīn, Yānūḥ, Faq`iyya, al-Bāzūriyya, Kafr Dib`al, Juwayyā and its agricultural land, Majdal Sharqiyya, Bayt Rūḥ, Ṭayrzinba, Faynūn, Qazḥiyya,<sup>189</sup> Andrecife (=Dayr Kifā, Kifā Monastery), Mārūn, Ṭayr Samḥat, Kafr Nāy, Nīḥa, Bafaliyya, Ma`arka, Ṭafilbiyya, Shuhūr, Alman, al-Qarzūn, Dughayya Monastery, Abrūkhiyya, Bayrīsh, al-Ṣawāfī, Hallūsiyya, [107] Ma`rūb, Ba`lth, Qānūn Monastery (?),<sup>190</sup> Ṭayr Dubba, Badyās, al-Nu`māniyya, Badūth, al-Ḥamrāniyya, Ṭūrā, al-Sharafiyyāt, Bard Nabīl, al-Jadīda, al-`Abbāsiyya, al-Junaythiyya, Ashḥūr al-Qānā, Shadīna, al-Shamaliyya, al-Faḥila, and al-Miṣriyya.

This does not include al-Ma`shūqa, Rashmūn, and the garden of al-`Awjā, which we have mentioned. They do not constitute villages, for al-Ma`shūqa is the name of a press, and the garden of al-`Awjā is not a village, nor is Rashmūn. If they were villages, then they would be included in the condominium lands, but because they are not villages, they are considered to be fringe areas of [the lands] specifically hers.

The boundaries of all these lands are from the south: Madfana, the village of `Amrān Monastery, the tower of Wādī al-Ḥujjāj, al-`Izziyya, Zubqīn, and Yārin;<sup>191</sup> to the east, `Ayātā, Sulṭāniyya, Majdal Sharqiyya, al-Saḥnūniyya—all of which are part of the condominium—Qānā, Maḥrūna, al-Majādīl, Kafr Dūnīn—which is part of the sultan's lands (*al-khāṣṣ al-sharīf*)—to the north, Aṣrifiyā—which is part of the sultan's private lands (*al-khāṣṣ al-sharīf*)—the Qāsimiyya River, and to the west, the sea.

These previously mentioned villages are included in the truce in their totality, with their agricultural lands, dues, lands, mills, rivers, gardens, their unutilized areas, those harvesting crops rendering different kinds of money, all of those are in a condominium between our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr and the Lady Dame Margaret, Lady of Tyre. The revenues shall be divided in terms of money and produce, dues,

<sup>188</sup> Presumably there was a name that has disappeared.

<sup>189</sup> Appearing as Tuffāḥiyya.

<sup>190</sup> If this reading is correct, then the monastery would seem to be listed twice.

<sup>191</sup> Not listed in the list of 78 above.

charitable-taxes, herd-tax, corn-tax (*ḥukūrāt*), rent, guarantees, taxes, penalties, inheritances, and other types of dues, small or large, will be divided equally between the two sides.

The situation shall be established in all things just as it was at the end of the Zāhirī days.

On the condition that the overseer of these previously mentioned properties and condominiums, and the tax-collector for the moneys and harvests be the deputies of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, may his victory be glorious, with the agreement of the Lady Dame Margaret, Lady of Tyre's deputies so that neither side would be acting unilaterally in the tax-collection of a dirham or anything else.

On the condition that the person who in the land of al-Zahriyya would continue in the self-same place that was usual during the Zāhirī days. And on the condition that the lands specifically belonging to the Lady of Tyre are safe, tranquil, those, its army, horsemen and foot-soldiers, merchants, in their persons, their possessions, their children, their quadrupeds, in going and coming, in traveling and staying until [108] the end of this truce.

On the condition that the merchants and travelers going back and forth between the two sides would continue to go back and forth, buying and selling, importing and exporting, safe, tranquil, in their persons, and their possessions.

On the condition that nothing is updated upon them from the two sides, other than the customs that are regular, and that those items forbidden to sell stay exactly the same.

On the condition that the boats from the two sides passing back and forth on the sea, each crew from the both of them will be safe from the other, tranquil in the seas, the docks, in entry and departure. Each party of the two sides is obligated to stop any harm to the other.

On the condition that whenever a boat from either of the two sides breaks apart, everything belonging to a Muslim will be handed over to him, if it is found, or to the deputies of our master the Sultan, if it is lost. If it belongs to a Christian from the lands of our master the Sultan, may his victory be glorious, then the same regulation as a Muslim applies. If it is from the Tyrians, or from the subjects of the Lady, the Lady of Tyre, then the wealth should be handed over to him if it is found, but to her office (*dīwān*) if it is lost. If one of the two sides dies in [the territory of] the other, having no heir, this regulation is applicable to him from both, and his wealth should not be concealed.

On the condition that whenever one of the two sides is killed, and the killer is found, if the killer is a Muslim, the deputies of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, may God make him victorious, will judge him in accordance with the pure noble sultanic policy. If it is a Christian from the Tyrians, the Lady, Dame Margaret, the Lady of Tyre, will judge him. Each side will have a representative of the other side physically present at the judgement in accord with the laws of both sides.

This will be the judgement with regard to one who transgresses, is out of control, and attacks, the deputies of our master the Sultan will administer a Muslim's discipline, while the representatives of the Lady, the Lady of Tyre, will administer a Christian's discipline. If the matter of the slain is concealed, then the blood-money for a knight from either side will be 1100 Tyrian dirhams, a turcopole 200 dirhams, a peasant 100 dirhams, and a merchant, his blood-money will be in accord with his ethnicity, origin and status. This will be taken from the inhabitants of the villages in which this individual has been killed as a penalty (*jināya*) for them, and to teach them a lesson, in a lump sum. This will be applicable to both sides. If the slain man is in the condominium [areas], the penalty will be levied equally.

On the condition that when booty is taken it will be returned in full if it is found, or its value if it is lost. If the matter of the slain or the booty is concealed [109] then a grace period will be granted for 40 days in order to investigate the matter. If nothing emerges, then the guarantor of that side will swear three people who the other side will be able to choose. If they refuse the oath, then the previously mentioned penalty is obligatory, plus the value of the booty.

On the condition that whenever anyone from the two sides flees, he will be returned with those with him, so whenever a *mamluk* flees, from whatever ethnicity, he will be returned with all he has with him, male or female, slave or free, applicable to both sides.

On the condition that the Lady, Dame Margaret, Lady of Tyre, does not renovate the building of a citadel, nor rebuild walls, nor dig moats, or construct fortifications that will prevent access or defend.

On the condition that our master the Sultan does not permit any of his armies, or troops, or the people of his lands to target the specified Tyrian lands during this truce with harm, damage, theft, aggression, or treachery, either by land or by sea, nor will any of our master the Sultan's armies, troops or allies harass the Lady, Dame Margaret, the Lady of Tyre, in her person, her horsemen, soldiers (*aṣḥāb*), except for the Ismailis

(*al-Ismā`īliyya*),<sup>192</sup> who are under the judgment of our master the Sultan. Our master the Sultan has the right to send anyone from among them to the Lady of Tyre with evil and damage, whenever he wishes.

On the condition that the Lady, Dame Margaret, Lady of Tyre, is obligated to guard the lands of our master the Sultan from her side from those wishing to commit a crime, corrupt, a strange man, and the rest of the Franks who might wish using her lands [as a base] to target the lands of our master the Sultan with harm, raiding, vandalism or aggression.

On the condition that the Lady, Dame Margaret, Lady of Tyre, does not make agreements with the other Franks upon any matter that would harm the lands of our master the Sultan, damage his realms, subjects or the rest of those inside of them, or anything in them, nor will render aid to anyone for this purpose either by secret-code (*rumz*), or writing, hinting or message until the ending of this truce. And she has the same [assurance] from our master the Sultan.

On the condition that when the truce is ended, or there occurs, taking refuge in God, some abrogation of it by either side, there shall be a grace-period for merchants, travelers, those going back and forth of 40 days so that everyone can return with what he has to his place of safety and homeland, safe and tranquil, being escorted by both sides. [110]

This truce is established with its arranged stipulations, and repeated principles, without abrogating its regulations. Its arrangement will not be dissolved by the death of one of the two sides, nor by the removal of a governor or by the appointment of another, nor by the introduction of a third party, or by invasion, but will proceed according to its duration, and its amount will be kept, which is ten years, complete and continuous, of which the first is 14 Jumādā al-Awwal year 684 [July 18, 1285] of the prophetic *hijra*, which corresponds to 18 Tammūz of the year 15[96], and the end of it is 14 Jumādā al-Awwal year 694 [April 1, 1295], which corresponds to 18 Tammūz 1605 of the Alexandrine [calendar] of Philip the Greek.

Both sides are obligated to keep it until its end, as is any who take their places to keep it until its end, and the noble signature above is the proof of its being in force, if God Most High wills.

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<sup>192</sup> Unusual for the Ismailis to be called by this name; in all other cases they are referred to as *al-da`wa*. Philip of Montfort, lord of Tyre, and Margaret's father-in-law, had been assassinated by the Ismailis in 1270.

### Mention of the new things from this year

Rising of the sun from the noble progeny's horizon was ascendant, and a new moon by which the rising celestial bodies were beautified. This was that on 15 Muḥarram [March 23, 1285] of this year a son was born to our master the Sultan, al-Malik al-Manṣūr, may God aid him. At his birth the thrones, cradles and lamps burst forth in joy. The realms, fortresses, and castles would have loved to have partaken in his ascendant, by which God ennobled his existence in the constellations. He was named Muḥammad so that lights of blessing in that noble name would overflow upon him, and given the honorific al-Malik al-Nāṣir, because this is a well-recognized honorific.

He is from the [111] the Rūmiyya Palace,<sup>193</sup> from the khan's flesh and blood [lit. bone]. His grandfather on his mother's side was Saktāy b. Bājū, one of the greatest nobles of the Mongols. God conjoined the maximum pride in him; charity overflowed together with robes of honor. A number were released from prison, and hardship was relieved at the time of his birth. This was because it was a blessed beginning with the conquest of Marqab, and all the victory and success that entailed so praise to God, Lord of Worlds.

### Of this victory

The raid of the Āl Faḍl [tribe] and a group of Āl Mirā upon the land of the defeated enemy, so the Bedouin took al-Baḥrayn<sup>194</sup>—Āl `Alī b. Mājid—this aforementioned one was among their total. Our soldiers killed him (the enemy?), took a large number captive from them, and looted many possessions that cannot be counted: horses, possessions and goods. The booty was immense, the fighters comely, and the blessing huge.

In the same way, the emir Hiba, son of the emir Sharaf al-Dīn `Īsā b. Muḥannā, raided against the eastern [112] region towards Amad. He had many freeborn troops from his supporters, and from al-Raḥba. They took more than 30,000 head of flocks, a quantity of cattle, and other things. They departed safely, untroubled, while the regions of the unbelievers quivered as a result of this raiding. The enemies were weakened because of it, and hemmed in. Every one of them believed that he would be taken and that his possessions were cast asunder.

<sup>193</sup> Dār al-Rūmiyya, not listed in al-Maqrīzī.

<sup>194</sup> This raid does not appear in other sources, and the place-name al-Baḥrayn is unidentified, but cannot be the island of that name (note al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in his treaty with Jaime II of Aragon for 714/1315 refers to himself as *malik al-baḥrayn*, see Alarcón y Santón and de Linares, *Documentos*, p. 360). Āl `Alī b. Mājid is listed in Ibn Faḍlallāh al-`Umarī, *Masālik*, iv, pp. 299–342 with the other Syrian tribes (at pp. 335–6).

In the same way, on 10 Rabī' al-Awwal [May 16, 1285] of this year letters arrived from the envoys of our master the Sultan, which he had sent to Alfonso [X of Castile]. These were the emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Mu'azzamī, the jurisprudent al-Imam Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī, and the emir 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak the interpreter, known as al-Kubakī. The contents were:

They had departed from the noble gates and arrived to Alfonso at the beginning of Muḥarram year 682 [April 1, 1283]. They had met with him in Seville and given him the missive, and he had heard it from them. They found that a war was occurring between him and his son Don Sancho, who had stirred up the people of the regions against Alfonso [X], so they have joined with his son, previously mentioned. Only a small army continues to be loyal to his father, and only Seville is left in his possession.<sup>195</sup> The only one left who will help him is Abū Yūsuf ruler of Marrakesh.<sup>196</sup>

They stayed with him for a time, but when they became vexed with staying, they requested from him permission to return, so he gave it to them until he could complete his issue with his son. He continued putting them off for a whole year.

Abū Yūsuf, the ruler of Marrakesh, sent him an envoy, who said to him: "These people came from a great Sultan and noble king; it is not befitting to delay them from returning without necessity. Therefore, you should prepare them to return. Or send them to us and I will prepare them for his service, and take the responsibility from you, serving them in a way appropriate to the importance of their master."

Alfonso returned an answer to Abū Yūsuf, ruler of Marrakesh: "If I were to send the envoys to you for you to provision them from your means [113] that would be an abiding deep shame for me! How would it be that envoys from a great Sultan would attend to me without my provisioning them? What would that say about me?"

During Muḥarram 683 [March 20, 1284] news came to Alfonso of the passing of one of his sons, called Don Pedro, who was the most beloved of his children to him. Alfonso wore the garments of grief for his dead son, and his grief for him increased. While he was in that situation, suddenly a sickness

<sup>195</sup> Manuel González Jiménez and Antonia Carmona Ruiz, *Documentación e Itinerario de Alfonso X el Sabio* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2012), p. 581f. reveal that Alfonso did not leave Seville for the rest of his life, except for a brief trip to Badajoz. Nowhere in the documentation is any Mamluk embassy mentioned.

<sup>196</sup> See José Manuel Nieto Soria, *Sancho IV de Castilla (1284–1295)* (Gijón: Trea, 2014), pp. 63–6.

came over him, and news came to him of the death of his rebellious son, Don Sancho. However, the latter had not died, he was only sick. So he [Alfonso] said, “Dominion has gone”; his pain intensified over this son, in spite of his enmity to him.<sup>197</sup> He lingered 10 days and then died.

When he died, not one of his children was present for his death, other than Don Juan. Therefore, he divided the inheritance of his father and his treasures. Don Sancho, son of Alfonso, about whom it was said that he died, and was waging war against his father, was granted clemency. The dominion was handed over to him three months after his father perished. He arrived in Seville at the beginning of Rabīʿ al-Ākhir year 683 [June 17, 1284].

When the trustworthy envoys of our master the Sultan were present, he honored them and treated them well.

When it was Sunday, 3 Rabīʿ al-Ākhir [June 19, 1284], he went to the cathedral of Seville, which had been a mosque for the Muslims,<sup>198</sup> but was made into a church, and was proclaimed ruler (*tasaltana*) in it, was crowned and rode with the marching-band (*ṭabalkhānāh*), the flags, while the banner of our master the Sultan was at his head. The city-dwellers revolved [around him], while the envoys were with him. He went to his palace, extended his cloth [for a banquet], and the envoys sat with him upon it. He considered the issue of the dominion and order of its affairs.

Envoys from the ruler of Sīs, King of Armenia, arrived before him, as well as envoys of Abū Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, the ruler of Marrakesh. When envoys would arrive, he would summon them together with the envoys of our master the Sultan. The envoys of our master the Sultan were on his right. The contents of Abū Yūsuf’s, the ruler of Marrakesh, envoys’ oral message was to congratulate him on the kingship, and his way to it, and to regard it as a good omen. [114]

Summing up their face-to-face conversations, the envoys asked our master the Sultan to make them ready to go towards him, so he said “I am more deserving of their service, and worthy of it.”

Then he met with the envoys of our master the Sultan time and again, repeating this statement and the face-to-face conversation which they had with his father on the part of our master the Sultan, and asked about a gift. He diverted himself with disagreement towards him, he became tight-fisted, and his expenses multiplied, so he sent a message to the envoys, its content was:

At the present time I have nothing, because I have been able to find nothing in the treasuries. I went to demand from Ibn al-Aḥmar something, but he did not send me anything until the present time. The land is ruined,

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., p. 587 Alfonso X asked Pope Martin IV to forgive Sancho his offenses.

<sup>198</sup> Luis Martinez Montiel, *The Cathedral of Seville* (London: Scala Publishers, 1999), pp. 1–11 (it was captured in 1248).



having absolutely no revenue. Therefore, I see that you are wanting to go to Toledo to stay in it, so I should prepare you [for that].

The envoys of our master the Sultan refused anything other than to return [to Egypt], so permission was granted to them, and they sailed to Tūnis with 500 dinars. An envoy and a doctor (*hakīm*) sailed with them to the ruler of Tūnis. They traveled at the middle of Jumādā al-Ākhira [late August, 1285], and arrived in Tūnis at the middle of the month of Ramaḍān [late November 1285].

They suffered tribulations at sea, but the ruler of Tūnis met them with kindness, honor and paying visits. So they presented themselves at the noble gates.

### Of what was new

On 12 Rabī' al-Ākhir [June 17, 1285] a boat arrived from Naples to Alexandria, and the news of those coming with it was that the Pope, the caliph of the Franks, had perished. The Franks had appointed another from the Twelve Cardinals, a man named Giacomo Savelli (*jākamū sabalū*).<sup>199</sup> He commanded a peace between the Genoese and their enemies. The Sicilians sent him an envoy in two single-masted galleys (*ghurāb*) because of the peace, and to liberate the Prince, son of Charles (*sharlū*) who was imprisoned in Sicily. He had already prepared 60 single-masted galleys in Sicily. This pope sent to each side that they were not to move without his order. [115]

### Mention of our master, may God aid him, the Sultan's return to the capital of his realm

When the issues of these conquests had been settled in a way that made hearts happy, amazed minds, and made pleasant secrets for histories and biographies, our master the Sultan went camping on the field of Ḥimṣ until all the issues were completed. He then traveled and entered Damascus on Sunday 3 Jumādā al-Ulā [July 7, 1285], and stayed in it 16 days, planning its administration, putting its affairs into order, and pouring out his appointments and bounties upon the emirs of Syria, and treating its subjects well.

He departed from Damascus, arriving at the Citadel of protected Cairo on Saturday, 25 Sha'bān [October 26, 1285] of this year. The victorious armies accompanied him, and stayed at the location of their sultan, may God use him to construct its lookouts, and sweeten its ways. He began his goodness by thanking God in them [the ways] for his pace, and that of the fleet horse upon which he had ridden. He settled in his quarters in protected Cairo, and considered the prostration-places for foreheads (mosques) in it, the necessities

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<sup>199</sup> As Pope Honorius IV (1285–87); elected on April 2, 1285.

of life, the sunken pools of water, the ascension-places for prayers, and the descending-places for generosity and miracles (*karāmāt*).

Then he beheld the cupola engraved with the Book of God and tradition (*ḥadīth*) of the Prophet, the schools (*madāris*), which are the locations for legal (*sharī'a*) learning and pious actions. The hospital in which troubles are uncovered, and lifeblood is healed, which are a paradise on earth rolled out for its inhabitants, and a mercy from God the like of which does not exist elsewhere. Where indeed can one find the like of it?

So he sat and listened to the Qur'ānic recitation and prayer, praying the afternoon prayer, and then he descended walking to the grave of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, may God be pleased with him, and visited it, then rode from it.

God had already recorded his reward, and beautified his merits, storing them up and remembering them. Prayers are heard on his behalf, and hands are raised in supplication. Then he went towards the Citadel via the Victory Gate.

Previous to that he had gathered the religious leadership (*'ulamā'*), the imams, the Qur'ānic readers in the noble cupola, and the poets had declaimed [poetry]. This was in the presence of the emir 'Alam al-Dīn al-Shujā'ī al-Manṣūrī. It passed well, and a noble gathering. Righteous prayers were received. [116]

### **Mention of a positive initiative benefiting all the people**

The people, during the days of the dike (*al-khalīj*), there would be terrible distress for them because they would be unable to arrive at their plots of land (*al-aḥkār*), which today are the dwelling places for the emirs. They would have to follow a lengthy path, and walk from al-Khalīj upon a wasteland that was filled with dangers.

God initiated by the decrees of our master the Sultan a good thing which made the distant near, gave shelter to the evicted, and returned the expelled. Responsibility was taken, and destruction averted by the building of a bridge over the dike between Nectarine Gate (*bab al-khūkha*) and the bridge.<sup>200</sup>

This was done under the supervision of the emir 'Alam al-Dīn al-Manṣūrī in the shortest possible time. And so it arrived, expanding space for those who cross, making them happy by the sight of it, having a general benefit, awe-inspiring, and generously bestowing grace, and giving blessing. Its completion was carried out during the first 10 days of Jumādā al-Ākhira [August 1285]. [117]

<sup>200</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Rawḍa*, pp. 97–8, close to the Zuwayla Quarter.

**Mention of messengers from the Yemen being present  
at the gates of our master the Sultan**

At the end of Shawwal [December 29, 1285] the emir Sayf al-Dīn, who was known as Ibn al-Tulayl b. Burtās, and al-Ṣadr Zakī al-Dīn, known as Ibn al-Niẓām, arrived. The envoy was Ibn al-Tulayl alone, as Ibn al-Niẓām had merchandise. They stayed in the best circumstances, and were honored greatly.

On Saturday, the end of Shawwal [December 29, 1285], our master the Sultan sat for a meeting with the two aforementioned envoys. They were presented only after they had been honored with a welcome robe of honor. The emirs and the Sultan's mamluks were all beautifully adorned in their best clothes, which outshone the stars. Each one of them took his appointed place.

Honorary gifts and other gifts of different types were brought—precious artifacts from India, Sind, and Yemen. Every strange and amazing thing was among these honorary gifts: an elephant, a huge rhinoceros,<sup>201</sup> well-pedigreed Najdi horses, pearls, and sheep.

Our master the Sultan witnessed in all of these gifts every strange thing, and they [the envoys] witnessed from our master the Sultan, his emirs, and courtiers the best of all arrangements. Their letters were taken and read after that.

One of them contained embellishment of speech, and falsehoods of that over which there is no power. This was that he was disturbed by the news that had reached him: the Tatars had already taken over most Indian regions, and that unbelieving king of Ethiopia had killed [118] the Muslim kings of Ethiopia, and had taken over their regions. Things of this type, which are inexcusable, and no good to mention.

For that reason, there were denials in the answers given to him, and contempt towards him because of the tall tales he wrote that are not worthy of his realm's [status]. His envoys were prepared to be sent [back] to him in Dhū al-Hijja [February 1286] of that year.

The benefit of Islam [i.e., conversion] was demanded from him in return for aid that would be long lasting. These gifts, the treasuries were unsatisfied with the likes of them from him. Nothing would be satisfactory other than his periodically waging sacral warfare (*jihād*), raiding the unbelievers, and things of this type.

(He requested armies to be utilized in the fighting sometimes in al-Bīra and sometimes in al-Raḥba), and that in spite of the fact that these gifts are not good for recreation; the gift of Indian swords was better than the gift of Chinese [ones] and Kalāhi [ones]<sup>202</sup>—and so forth with bragging words and ungracious reprovals.

Correspondence and face-to-face conversation were sent as explanation; but his asking for assistance seemed to have no reason. This is what was set

<sup>201</sup> Correcting according to Ibn al-Furāt.

<sup>202</sup> Famous swords probably from either Malaysia or India.

down at the hand of the martyr, whose father is blessed, may God make his bed cool to the end of time, conferring permission to mention the name of God and his name from the pulpits, as well as proclamation by which his pen is honored, and his share is disposed.<sup>203</sup>

A dispensation for those possessed of the faculties of command and consideration, a command to act compassionately to those possessed of influence and founders (of realms), a commission (*tafwīd*) to those empowered to bind and loosen,<sup>204</sup> and a severance for the one in the most noble position for religious matters to be held—and in contraction of flags (*bunūd*), raising troops, sending expeditions, mobilizing reserve [troops].

In everything to which the out-stretched hand of the sultanate reaches, the just laws, judgments concerning which there is no appeal, submission that brooks no contradiction to its resoluteness, nor limit to its scope. Nothing interferes with it other than one who would interfere with the full moon because of its excessive completeness or a necklace because of orderliness of its beautiful symmetry and conjunction.

O God (*allāhuma*)—are not injunctions descending from this level of light, and from this place of small pearls, remembrances of which are beneficial for the likes of him, so his guidance continues to be sought after? Among his fathers are those upon whom God has perfected His grace, and upon his forefathers before him.

This empowers the word of law and spreads the word that restrains harm and celebrates humility. Undertaking the task of sacral warfare (*jihād*) is the base, and upon this base the branch is fastened. So the branch, from it unbelief is terrified by the stretching of the forearm which constricts covetousness from them.

Protection of the religion is from his family and emirs (commanders)—they are the stars in its heavens, the bombardment of the religion's enemies, our enemies and his enemies. So let them be among his shock troops on the level of an oath, and to the face of our master, the Sultan, at the time of the death of his father, may God have mercy on him.

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<sup>203</sup> The function of the documents of the next pages is not stated, but they must be investitures for the royal family of Ḥamāh, and should be compared in their oblique language to that appointing al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ given by Baybars in text 4 (a).

<sup>204</sup> See Patricia Crone, *God's Rule* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 57, 277 (she translates as “electors”).

Turbans, honorary gifts, noble confirmation, [119] kingly warhorses (*jaftāwāt*), and other royal insignia and sultanic paraphernalia were prepared, and transported from Damascus, and presented at the noble sultanic gates, together with retainers. His appointment was read, which was:

Praise be to God, who sent the goodness of transformation to the best standing-place, praised [=Muḥammad], adding to the felicity of good fortune the rulership of borders, having the best heir sitting on the throne, while his ranks giving glad tidings of his ascent from his cradle's origin.

Processions, planets and constellations bear witness that he is the most eloquent grow, the highest-minded of those who traverse [the earth], the most tolerant of those who give generously.

We praise Him for His cooling copious blessings, and His hailing purifying rain, as we thank Him the obligatory thanks for the awe-inspiring bounty for all existent. We testify that Muḥammad, may the prayers and peace-greetings of God be upon him, is His servant and prophet, the best prophet that God sent to encourage being loyal to covenants, and the One made pure who was promised, may the prayers and peace-greetings of God be upon him, his family and his Companions as long as lightning occurs and thunder praises.<sup>205</sup>

*Afterwards:* Pitch-black highlights fire in the best way, and the cosmos orbits by its aid, traveling by its pride everyone who travels at night, to revive the liver with clarity, and to cause the one who would perish to perish.

Whoever inherits the sultanate without being crowned, whoever you attack by the spearheads of the administration in its defense, whoever you have thanked the heavens of the realm from his lofty house, [while] his sun, his full and crescent moon towering, whoever, just when you have considered overtopping his pure house, [you realize] this is the majesty of majesties, the nobility of nobilities.

Whoever boasts of generosity and existence from his father, and from him, by his seal-ring, his vanguard, his victory and his leadership, whoever the clouds boast of raining on him, the horizons of his liberality, whoever has the Samhūrī spears,<sup>206</sup> the Mashrafī swords,<sup>207</sup> and the highest quantity, whoever appears on top of the front-running horses, underneath the royal standards (*ṣanājjīq*), like Tubba` in Ḥimyar,<sup>208</sup> the one who

<sup>205</sup> Cf. Q13:13.

<sup>206</sup> Presumably from Indonesia.

<sup>207</sup> From Mashraf in the Yemen, classic famous swords.

<sup>208</sup> Pre-Islamic kings of Yemen.

is distracted by the gift of a noble horse's back, open hand (*dast*), the inside of the pulpit, the one who both the sun and moon draw from his light, the night as it dissipates from his dust, and the morning as it shines when he sets out.

The one who however one looks over his pure origins, one sees that his predecessors from every direction are “kings on thrones.” Every one of them, when his troops are counted, they are more than the stars of the Milky Way [galaxy].

When it was the Taqī, the Muẓaffar, the kingly, the sultanic, the lordly high place, the lord martyr the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn Muḥammad, son of the lord martyr al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, son of the lord al-Malik [120] al-Manṣūr, son of the lord al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taqī al-Dīn `Umar son of *shāhinshāh* son of Ayyūb was born.

He was the possessor of the high summit, the one who carries with him long retinues, the one whose gifts are rich, whose swords cause to perish, the inheritor of this lordship from father, grandfather and great-grandfather, and the one who erected the buildings of his noble house upon raised and strengthened supports.

His predecessors had rights which were confirmed by genealogical sanctity—sanctities that were more firm than the best covenant to be obtained, had already lived in the peak of merits, not fearing or being apprehensive of anyone overtaking [him], dying with an appointed successor, such that he passed from being invigorated to mounting, may God have mercy on him, the bier.

He only departed this world when his eye pleased us with the one who would succeed him, pointing out to us the one from his family who fulfilled his noble good covenant—the good covenant of oaths and nobility of affection, which intermixes flesh and blood—and would take his place at his departure, whose tongue is not slippery, so to make agreements of this appointment in order to be girded by it in the best way, and to bear by his crown the most noble crossroad.

How many crossroads of kings of the hunt were ennobled by the likes of him, by which he fulfilled of the passer-by, may God water his covenant, and that which is due to the living. This was that he brought before the eyes of the people, “We have not left anything out in the Book.”<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>209</sup> Q6:38.

For this reason the victorious (*manṣūr*), kingly, sultanic, masterly, lofty order went forth that the realms would continue with his appointments' fruits' leaves. Kings are in need of supports to which their ancestry is traced in the far past by which to accord, may God aid him, to the way of the master, the martyr, al-Malik al-Manṣūr his father, may God be pleased with him, in his Ḥamān realm, comprehensive in his care of subjects, necessary to suspend [as an example], exact in protection, perfect in forbearance, and diligent in preparedness.

In every way the previous hand of ruling guided (gently), sought comprehensive order, from dominion whose flag was raised on God's name, ordered according to following the (predecessors') guidance, all of which its belt could contain, perforated by its necklaces, with its sides pulled together, with milk flowing from its udders, surrounded by its curtain-veil. His heaven seeks to raise him, his names seek to follow him, his kings and emirs who obey his command seek to pluck from him, that which enters in the boundaries, and exits from the trench (*ukhdūd*), what his spur gathers, when the one who rebels against him obeys him, what troops seek sustenance from him, and what the generous pens seek to speak of him.

Everything he plucks is given, every (blade) he whets [causes] weeping, everything he seeks to borrow is returned wealthy, everything just seeks him to be herded, [121] and everything his just-nature tells him is a perversion is fair. His tent-entrance is jammed [with people] for obedience, especially because of his close companionship with the truth, an inheritance whose signs are inscribed not unexpectedly, no disjunction intervenes among his compacts.

Merriment does not follow him like bangles on the forehead, those who beautify with them in place of the necklace, the expensive necklace, the houses of worshipful acts, and the places of beneficial acts—those are the places where blessings fall, and where intercessory prayers rise. Their matter is only delegated to the who inhabits their blessed localities, and seeks guidance from angels' reception in them.

And the boundaries, they are more appropriate in which to carry out vengeance, more befitting to keep possessions, bodies, forms, and herds, for in both of our opinions, they are things entrusted, and if they are counted as parties of obedience then they are the first obedient party, and they are the land's habitation, and the continuance of the worshipers' sustenance. By them the pasture is made abundant, and the goal is attained, so do not abandon them in a place where the flock pastures freely, but build the tower, heal the wounds, all of which will make success continuous for him. [122]



### Mention of the greatest mercy for the creatures among all blessings

It was that in Dhū al-Qa`da of this year [January 1286] a [legal] sentence came down [conveyed] in the post-couriers' letters. A man from the freeborn troops (*halqa*) of Damascus, known as al-Shihāb b. al-Dubaysī had conspired—he and another one forged for him the Sultan's correspondence, upon which was the representation of the noble sultanic name, to access some of the harvest crops in the Sawād region<sup>210</sup> and other places.

The ones who forged this for him were a Christian man and a Jewish Samaritan man.<sup>211</sup> When this reached our master the Sultan, he wrote commanding that the soldier's tongue be cut off and that he be exposed [to the public], and that the Christian and the Jew be nailed up (*tasmīr*).

The post was set out with that, but then our master the Sultan thought it over, and his mercy returned to him, so he sent note to have the post return with its letters, so they were returned from al-Warrāda. He wrote commending a solicited opinion from the jurisprudents concerning them, so they gave the opinion to beat them and imprison them, as a warning to prevent anyone from doing this other than them. However, their chastisement<sup>212</sup> was a legal one.

The letter was straightened in this manner, mercifully and humanely. Continuous mercy—what trait is greater than this—where descriptive tongues fall short! The one who they took [had] so many crops and possessions. God has decreed his wage, and He beautified by this good deed his memory.

### Manner of acting: Sanctity upheld and judged by the highest ambition

During this year a large number of the important Bedouin from the Tha`laba [tribe] gathered at a drinking-hole. Among them was the son of the emir Fāris al-Dīn Rumayḥ, the emir of Tha`laba, but they killed this son. A whole group were implicated in it. His father set all of them at liberty other than one man, whose name was `Usayla, who had already fled.

The father of the murdered [man] said, "I have no quarrel with any other one," so he was the subject of an intense manhunt in every place, but he fled to Iraq, far away, and hid himself among shepherds. The decrees of our master the Sultan continued to hunt for him, seeking after him, until the deputies

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<sup>210</sup> Unidentified, but probably close to Damascus, perhaps in the fertile region to its south.

<sup>211</sup> Although Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir usually does not record such religiously charged details, the period of the early Mamluks was a period of heightened sensitivity towards the Christians and the Jews. Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir as a member of the scribal elite would have been institutionally part of this persecution.

<sup>212</sup> Reading *ta`zīr* in place of *ta`zīz*.

of al-Raḥba captured and brought him. He confessed and was turned over to his opponent, who took blood-vengeance from him close to the Victory Gate (Bab al-Naṣr). His flight to Iraq did not save him, as he was driven to his death by the authority of our master the Sultan. [123]

**Year 685 [February 27, 1286]: mention of the commander Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, the sultan's governor's, departure for Kerak, handing it over, and the presenting of those in it [to the Sultan]**

At the end of the year 684 [February–March 1286] our master the Sultan, may God aid him, was concerned to dispatch the armies towards Kerak because of matters that occurred on the part of those in it. Every time he relaxed, they increased. Every time the noble sultanic feelings inclined towards it, they procrastinated, and kept on putting him off.

The break widened until it was too much to mend. Only retributive punishment would befit them, as they believed that the one who benefited them could be provoked and deceived by them, and that whoever caused them to bleed would be harmed by them.

They only increased their crimes after clemency, and their debts just piled on as the time of clemency lengthened. Even a long-eared donkey would not avail their scattered memories! They continued, every time mercy went easy on them they hardened, every time they were reminded they forgot, every time they were stayed, they envied, and every time they were given good advice they betrayed.

Then they acted openly, drifting into treason. Neither letters nor intermediaries were useful with them, nor would they receive the good advice of the advisor or what anybody said to them.

At that point, our master the Sultan wrote a command to the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, the sultan's deputy, to depart, and that the victorious armies would accompany him. He left on Thursday 2 Muḥarram in the year 685 [February 28, 1286]. He traveled under the name of God, encouraging the riders, upon an untiring [noble] horse [124], and the armies continued, each one following the other.

The Kerakans barely were aware of it before the armies' hooves were pounding those deaf hills, passing through narrow gorges through which a notched bow could not pass, and surrounding it from every direction, staring at it with wide-open eyes.

On time Ḥusām al-Dīn brought the noble sultanic clemency to them, which he had tolerated them time and again, but that had merely given them the means to return to the injustice they had perpetrated from the beginning. No excuse would now be useful for them, nor any renunciation [of what they had done] be heard.

They had no option but to surrender the fortress to him, so he could defend it. Too often things had gone back to what they were and only this tearing-apart [taking it away from them] could mend [the situation].

Ḥusām al-Dīn was completely resolved, and so this [previously] warm friend betrayed them at the time and hour [of their need], and nothing remained for them to grasp, nor did any covenant or protection avail them, so they responded, and made conditions, regretting what they had abandoned.

The good news of the conquests arrived on Friday 8 Šafar [April 5, 1286], so the proclaimers sounded out [the news] of this mighty fortress being conjoined to the mighty Sultan, arranged as a necklace for the orderly king.

The emir Rukn al-Dīn Ṭaqṣū arrived on Saturday 9 Šafar [April 6, 1286] accompanied by a number of the inhabitants of Kerak in order to renew their covenants back to the way it should have been. Our master the Sultan acted according to his disposition in clemency and good treatment to every person.

They returned and the deputies of our master the Sultan turned over Kerak, after taking advice, to the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn at his command. Everyone who was in it departed accompanying the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunfāy in protective custody and custodial protection, and were served in a way that made aiding them good.

The emir Ḥusām al-Dīn arrived, with them accompanying him, so the beneficence of their being presented encompassed them, and looking well upon all matters enclosed them. They stayed in the place of righteousness and compassion, where blessings had already been provided for them.

When it was Saturday 17 Rabī' al-Ākhir [June 12, 1286] Nāšir al-Dīn, son of al-Malik al-Sa'id [125] son of al-Malik al-Zāhir, died in Cairo, together with his aunt, and was buried in al-Qarāfa with his grandmother. There was a celebration at his burial and sending off.

Our master the Sultan took charge of the post and the correspondence dealing with Kerak, and all the treasures were transported there—of everything, of all types, and supplies, possessions, quadrupeds, weapons, everything that the treasuries contained, filling its quivers, protecting its sides, rendering immediate assistance.

He dispatched a large number of the royal Manšūrī mamluks (*mamālīk*) to stay in it in order to protect its tenancy and to increase its provisions. Thus, its matters were completed in the best possible way, and its management was perfected and strengthened.

Throughout the realm, all the royal mamluks protected it, held it dear, gave everything for it, valuing it for different types of wheat (*burr*) and filial loyalty (*birr*). Felicity declaimed in its honor, ostriches twittered in its courtyards:

*It was only righted by him, and only he could right it,  
If a king other than him had desired it, the earth would have seriously  
quaked. [126]*

### Mention of our master the Sultan's settling in Cairo

We have mentioned the initiatives concerning a quarter of these good deeds, the well-spring of these charitable deeds, and our master the Sultan's settling down to witness those building projects commissioned, but as yet uncompleted, and his seeking to return them back [to completion].

When it was Tuesday the beginning of Jumādā al-Ulā [June 25, 1286] our master the Sultan began to be concerned as to what [actions] were stored up with God would benefit him, and publicize the best reputation for him in the heavens and the earth. So he approached a majordomo of his house staff (*ustādh dāriyyatihi*) to commission transferring everything that would support the jurisprudent and the poor (Sufis), the king and the emir—the ranks, the (food) cloths, different types of foods, many edibles, and extra outlays.

All of the sultanic houses in their different locations (*muwā`īn*), and separate weights and measures, were transferred. Nothing remained of those types by which one is increased, and increases gain, other than a cloak, because of spending, and so the provisions were plentiful.

No sooner had our master the Sultan only settled on the previously mentioned Tuesday than the matters were settled, so he found food-cloths spread, attendants performing their duties having been prepared. Noble gifts and robes were dispersed among the four [*madhhabs*] religious judges teaching in the noble school, its tutors, the imams, the one who relates traditions in the noble cupola, and the interpreter of the Qur'ān there, and the doctors, the engineers, the builders, and any of the supervisors (*mushiddīn*) who had a job, the foremen, all who served, the callers to prayer who received bounty, the surgeons (*jarā'ihyya*), and the ophthalmologists (*kaḥḥālīn*).

Noble gifts were bestowed upon the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar that were appropriate for him, with which he completed his duties. The royal ranks were placed in every one of these places. This night was celebrated by a Qur'ānic recitation, by inquiry into (religious) issues and (religious) argumentation. Candles were lit and incense was burned, the prayers to God on behalf of our master the Sultan were lifted and heard, and were accepted as intercession.

Our master the Sultan was present from the direction of the Victory Gate, while the people had arranged themselves in their places, so he entered, him [127] and the kings, his sons, may God make them victorious, the senior emirs, their intimates, while he was humbled towards God Most High, producing his charitable donations, and making his feet firm in paradise.

He began with the school in which the four representatives [of the schools of law] were, and sat at the prayer niche upon garments that were spread from the prayer niche to the pool. Then the people ate before him, and gifts were distributed among the jurisprudents and the poor (Sufis), and upon everyone with a misfortune, so that these places were made into a haven.

When the charitable donation had been received, and its distribution had been comprehensive, the lecturers were ordered to recite their lessons one by one in front of him. The Qur'ānic reciters recited in one voice, and the world filled with the beauty of their voices, the perfume of their hummings. He was prayed for, and the answered [prayer] met the best of their understandings.

He rose from this sitting, and passed to the Hospital (*māristān*), then sat in the great entrance hall (*iwān*), having the waters flow.<sup>213</sup> The new sick-beds were furnished with waved silk (*'uttābī*) bedding,<sup>214</sup> waved silk sheets, embroidered *kulkujāt*,<sup>215</sup> waved silk pillows, and volunteering in accordance with the (needs) of the sick, and according to their social classes.

Our master the Sultan summoned all the judges of the four [legal schools], the imams, the religious leaders, and the judges, and caused [medical] drinks to be brought. So our master the Sultan took a cup in which there was drink in his hand, and said

I have bequeathed this place upon those like me, and [for all time] forward, until the classes of rich, poor and extreme indigence are no longer [present] in this place, at least among those who are present and staying<sup>216</sup> in it. Other than the teriac, or cordial syrup,<sup>217</sup> or other types of drugs that are not available among the perfumers in the markets. And I bear witness for myself on that!

Then he had special food brought to him according to his usual custom, then ate, and fed the people, distributing the drink among those present. Then he rose and entered the drinking-house (*sharāb khānāh*), and saw the drinks, drugs and medications prepared in it, together with the implements [128] and vessels. He then departed, went around in the hospital, and departed for the noble cupola, sitting in it. The Qur'ānic reciters recited, a professor of tradition (*hadīth*) cited them [traditions] in it, discussing them, and an exegete (of the Qur'ān) expounded in it, so he learned some exegesis and jurisprudence.

Our master the Sultan departed, as his good deeds were manifold, righteous actions multiplied, and justified intercessory prayers on his behalf were heard. This was a day to be proud of, as the blessings during it exceeded all blessings. So he returned [129] to his residence, in protected health, while the noble angels had written down generosity and nobility for him that God would give to him.

<sup>213</sup> For a plan, see Rabbat, *Mamluk History through Architecture* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), pp. 133–4.

<sup>214</sup> Mentioned by al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭāt*, iii, p. 737.

<sup>215</sup> Probably Farsi, to be vocalized as *gulgujāt*, special cloths for infants.

<sup>216</sup> Reading *muqīmīn* in place of *m-ī-q-m-ī-n*.

<sup>217</sup> See al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, i, pp. 690–93 for these types of drugs; and Leigh Chipman, *The World of Pharmacy and Pharmacists in Mamluk Cairo* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2010), p. 189: *sharab mufarriḥ*, “good for heart pain.”

While our master the Sultan was sitting in the hospital the emir `Izz al-Dīn *al-afram*, *amīr jāndār* (guard), approached, and kissed the ground. Two letters for the hospital localities' endowment were brought, one locality close to the polished corner close to the palace, while the other (locality) is in Zuwayla Quarter. Our master the Sultan signed upon receiving that from him, so in the same way others intended to do likewise. [130]

### What the owned-one (*mamlūk*) arranged on this subject

*O people, bow down and prostrate, praise, beseech and worship!  
Hasten with chartable deeds, open widely, hurry, size booty and give freely,  
For your Sultan has built a cupola so that the Black Stone can gaze at it,  
A council of justice, a Ka`ba's garden, a place of relating tradition, a worship-place, a mosque,  
For glory there is an abode, for nobility there is place of safety, for pride a crown, for generosity a source,  
On the earth it is evening, in the heavens it is morning, and the seven (planets) have a sitting-place,  
The one who studies its passing says, "Now alchemy cannot be denied!"*

One who saw its being tiled with marble said:

*It has something that softens the skin,  
Whoever sees its prayer-niche says it has little pearls strung from it,  
How many prayer-directions are in it, wisdom therein strikes the eye that strays afar,  
He begins with Chosen One's birthday in it, then says long night has conquered it,  
The Sultan seeks to accompany long life in it, existence left unspent,  
Therefore, the glad tidings went forth, and they said to him, "This is what the (Prophet's) birthday has brought,"  
Recognizing that it appeared as a palace visiting from paradise, [131]  
That it is a palace around which a school has been built, in which the (art of) rulership has been revived,  
Between the One of the Two Palaces, it is verified what is in it, that is called *al-Ma`had*,  
If it is called *Quṭbiyya* it is because in it there is a pole (*quṭb*) for the one who watches,  
And its hospital is a garden of refuge, to one side, the best of those bedded,  
In it there is nectar, drinking-cups, paradiscal drink (*salsabīl*),<sup>218</sup> cooling to the intestines,*

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<sup>218</sup> Q76:18.

*There is no hunger in it, nor thirst— whoever seeks something in it will find,  
 Sum total of a wage—there is nothing like it, as every region (iqḷīm) will testify to this,  
 One who comes to it continually says concerning its fragrance: “Would that I was like the sick returning to it,”  
 With pillars,<sup>219</sup> nothing like it built with hands is seen throughout the earth,  
 How many have said about its minaret, “What is its source?” This, whose ambition lengthens,  
 How much about its lantern is said to the people, “O people, this is a sword (farqad), so rest easy,”  
 This world continues to receive it, by its command, the horizons seek guidance,  
 Time (dahr) brings what is desired to it, and victory is brought to those who seek it.*

Among the lines arranged on this:

*How many wise opinions have been composed about that which is built, but produce only al-Gharīb al-muṣannaḡ?<sup>220</sup>  
 Leaving eyes/springs dry because of small rivulets, precedence, following and rendering into lines,  
 Marbled, embroidered, whitened, made into gardens, fettered, encrusted with sea-shells,  
 Thanks to its Garden of Eden, there is the River of Life in it, and how much concealed grace?  
 Healing of the sick in it, and every sick one dithers in it, when he has been returned to the best of health, [132]  
 Snare of minds, making those in love stutter, but to the tranquil, a pleasure in the like of it,  
 Its water, its breeze, its building, its enclosure, how much pleasure to the one who circumambulates!  
 How many jurisprudents and poor (Sufis) there are in its quarters; nearness and compassionate treatment of those on the point of death,  
 Seeing it makes one imagine gardens (of paradise), so let each culpable one hold fast in obedience,  
 In it there are houses of devotion which have become a waystation, a treasure for religion and this world,<sup>221</sup>  
 From every angle, one sees full moon upon full moon in its horizon, when it is not eclipsed,*

<sup>219</sup> Perhaps an allusion to Iram Dhāt al-imād, Q89:7.

<sup>220</sup> By Abū `Ubayd al-Qāsīm b. Sallām, a work on archaic language.

<sup>221</sup> Probably a pun on Qalāwūn's title.



*Always it appears to us that its upper levels overtop for those waiting for the  
 Sultan, the abode of al-Ashraf,  
 From it justice travels this world, among those who arrive from all humanity,  
 and those persevering,  
 No secret will ever distract it; never will any would-be guest be denied a  
 place in it,  
 More and more as the years pass, after years and more,  
 Both stay, without counting the years, as his life is not in need of speech,  
 being too much,  
 In it its tablecloth is spread, and in its midst the highest of kings, veiling the  
 most noble place,  
 At the entrance of favors and long bountiful life all sides press together,  
 And rising of one who declaims every praise as long as it is sweet, does it not  
 fall short of the pigeons' cooing?*

Among the lines describing this:

*A king in front of whom the seas are ashamed, when they participate in his  
 generosity and giving,  
 He has already shown us a model by the one who the greatness of his con-  
 struction has raised to the heights, [133]  
 All creation is incapable—I see them not guided because of the beauty of  
 his example,  
 He raised for the religion every respect, seating unbelief outside the sym-  
 metrical line,  
 Whoever sees what he constructed says: Is this human work; nay, by the  
 truth of its height!  
 Do you think he utilized the jinn in what he built, and concealed them behind  
 his giving?  
 What are the Pyramids in beauty of form and benefit compared to it; how  
 much they are negated thereby!  
 This is his youth that would never satisfy a pyramid<sup>222</sup> with its equal,  
 What are Khawrnaq and Sadīr in comparison? If he saw them, he would  
 have specified for it to be developed,  
 If he had seen it as a garden from a distant path, part concealed below for its  
 modesty,  
 Or if Chosroes had seen it he would have asked for his building to be includ-  
 ed inside the entranceway to take shelter. [134]*

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<sup>222</sup> The editor would like to read this as the name of Haram b. Sinān the poet, but the appearance of the plural *ahrām* “pyramids” in the previous line makes that difficult. There are no other examples of Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir referencing poets in his own poetry.

### Mention of the raiding against Mosul and its regions

Because of the fact that the [Muslims] of the east were helping the unbelievers, strengthening them with wealth, weapons, provisions, and support after support, plus their rendering good counsel to the enemy, showing them the Muslims' weak spots morning and evening<sup>223</sup> our master the Sultan gathered the learned and sought a legal opinion from them about them [eastern Muslims]—how should this strengthening [of the enemy] be dealt with?<sup>224</sup>

They ruled with that upon which he relied and depended, which was his disassociation from protecting that tendency (*mashāba*), and that they deserve his punishment and torment.

The inhabitants of Mosul had come to be completely dependent upon the Tatars' deputies, and they lived together in their villages to the greatest extent, being satisfied with them in every way. When they captured a spy (*qāṣid*), they would betray him and turn him over, taking him to their tyrant al-Lamīn,<sup>225</sup> and giving him to the latter.

This continued until unbelief was protected by these actions in their area. God Most High said, "Guard yourself against trouble (*fitna*) which will smite not just the evildoers among you."<sup>226</sup> Our master the Sultan did not think much of their reputation, so did not invade them with his large army, but also did not leave them alone, as these actions called for haste.

The deputies in the Aleppan realm began to gather reserves as usual, and Badr al-Dīn was made commander in charge over them. When it was 13 Jumādā al-Awwal [July 7, 1286] the governor's correspondence arrived in the Aleppan realm, together with ten of the deputies, that the reserves should be sent to the east.

They, when they arrived at Azār al-Ḥajar, the news of them having spread, and they being obvious to everyone, demanded to be taken to al-Jazīra. They agreed to level raids, announcing this publicly, making it famous, trampling the lands and fields. Therefore, they rode at the head of 1000 riders and raided [135] from Mt. Mārdīn to al-Jazīra to Sinjār.

They burned and did not leave any place without doing what would weaken the enemy and destroy the provisions [received] from the country folk. Then they targeted Mosul, knowing that there was a watch-guard (*qarāwul*) among them, which was 500 Mongol horsemen.

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<sup>223</sup> The twin words used for going out in the morning and coming back in the evening for *jihād*, see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, iii, p. 267 (nos. 2793–4).

<sup>224</sup> Rashid al-Din, trans. Thackston, p. 544 states: "Because the Syrians were attacking the borders of Anatolia and Diyarbakr, wrecking havoc on Muslim territory..." from the Il-Khan point of view.

<sup>225</sup> Presumably their governor.

<sup>226</sup> Q8:25.

Those left for the Mosul suburbs, while they had four white standards, and stayed three days, each day lining up with a right flank and a left flank, a heart (center) and two wings. They sought aid from the people of Mosul, so the [Mamluk] reserves tired of confronting them. They dispatched the emir Ṭallā` with a battle (*jalīsh*) flag leading 100 horsemen, so they went out in the morning, fought them, sought news of them and applied themselves to this task.

The reserves followed from behind them, but did not remain in any place for more than a short time during the day, nor did they stop.

This battle was during the day of Monday 21 Rabī` al-Awwal [June 16, 1286] just before noon. The watch-guard was defeated, and more than 200 horsemen were killed from it. Some of them threw themselves into the Tigris [River] and drowned or choked, while some of them took refuge in al-Jawsaq al-Badrī fortress,<sup>227</sup> because its gates were iron.

The group dispersed after they had robbed and killed, but stayed in that mission (*hikāya*) for a day, on the second day till just before noon, and then returned safely without any of the Aleppan group being lost, other than one known as al-Badr Lū`lū` al`-Ayntābī, and from [136] the reserves one unknown Turkman.

They came to the Zulūbiyya Ford, and crossed it to the Aleppan side, and it is said that they followed behind Ibn al-Bābā<sup>228</sup> for a day and a night, and then he fled and was not caught. They had cried for help to `Alī al-Kurdī, the emir of those parts, and to the neighboring kings of the east, but none ventured to render them aid, or to move from their places.

Every one of them felt that he was spied upon, and that this movement had "cast dread into the hearts"<sup>229</sup> of the unbelievers. And that they did not find any helpers for them.<sup>230</sup> Reports of them reached the furthest part of Persia, and all of the enemy were tamed by these [reports]. A short time afterwards the report arrived that Jūshkeb was taken under protection, and they took him to the abandoned [royal] encampment (*urdū*). [137]

### **Mention of our master the Sultan's movement towards Syria, and his going to protected Kerak**

On Thursday 6 of the month of Rajab of this year [August 28, 1286], which was Nawrūz, our master the Sultan departed from the protected Citadel showing himself at the stopping place at the Victory Gate, as usual. He rode from it

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<sup>227</sup> Possibly listed in Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1977), i, p. 474, presumably close to the Tigris River

<sup>228</sup> al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, x, p. 38 Rukn al-Dīn al-Bābā al-Mughulī was the Mongol governor of Mosul; presumably this is his son Sayf al-Dīn Jangh/kalī mentioned later.

<sup>229</sup> Q33:26.

<sup>230</sup> Cf. Q3:22 among a number of places where similar phrases are used.

on Sunday the 9th [August 31, 1286], calling all the Islamic armies to accompany him. He gave the robe of honor to `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Manṣūrī, and appointed him to be the deputy over the Egyptian homelands, under the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ.

He began to travel by stages and stopping places, and then stopped at Gaza, fixing the (temporary) dwellings and filling those parts with tents. His camping at Gaza continued to ferret out what new was happening in every location. In the same way, the Syrian armies set up camp and held onto the reins, expecting a report that would be new and sent, so “they come swooping down from every height.”<sup>231</sup>

Our master the Sultan stayed in Gaza [138] inquiring about reports, calling for them and digesting them. When the renewed movement of the enemy that was reported turned out to be inaccurate, and the turmoil of rebelliousness had quieted down, he preferred, may God immortalize his realm, to turn towards Kerak to check up on its issues, and to witness personally that which had gone wrong there. Through that he would keep a close eye on the reports and the enemy’s movements until the end of the matter.

So he journeyed from Gaza on 14 Sha`bān [October 5, 1286], arrived at Kerak, and it was it overjoyed for him to be back, as it was guided by the rising of his stars. All of the highest emirs were in the service of our master the Sultan, then they brought the newcomers to their quarters, which had been empty since they had left them.

There was a popular celebration at the coming of the noble riders, so he circumambulated it [Kerak] outside and inside, and included both old-timers and new-comers in his good treatment, then looked after its needs, construction, supplying it and its storehouses.

In Kerak there was a pool close to the Victory Gate, over which time had passed, while it was not kept up. Time passed, but it was not remembered. Therefore, our master the Sultan stood beside it with his noble self, and those emirs and courtiers accompanying him together with all the people, until it was redug and cleaned out during the period of three days.

When his giving of gifts, beneficence, honorary gifts and spending had included all of the inhabitants of Kerak at every level, status, and anyone who could receive, he returned to protected Gaza on 29 Sha`bān of this year [October 20, 1286]. The rest of the armies stayed in Gaza until our master the Sultan was present, and our master the Sultan continued to stay in Gaza.

Al-Malik al-Muzaffar, the ruler of Ḥamāh, came to be of service to our master the Sultan, and our master the Sultan gave him, just as he had his father, a welcome, hospitality, celebration, and complete honor. His paternal uncle, al-Malik al-Afdal, arrived with him, together with a group of his emirs and courtiers. Every single one of them was given good treatment and hospitality.

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<sup>231</sup> Q21:96 said of Gog and Magog (often equated with the Mongols).

When all was calm as far as the enemy's movements [after receiving news] that they had entered [139] their winter quarters, and were safe from the movements of those behind them who would come to them to obey them, our master the Sultan issued orders to permit most of the armies to go to the Egyptian homelands for the provision of their horses.

A caravan-train with the baggage was sent out, and arrived accompanied by the emir Zayn al-Dīn Kitbughā al-Manṣūrī—this was on Saturday 5 Shawwāl [November 24, 1286]. After that, our master the Sultan doubled the reins, returning to the capital of his rule [Cairo] and the sources of his munificence and good treatment.

He asked al-Malik al-Muzaffar, the ruler of Ḥamāh, to accompany him, together with his paternal uncle, and all of his courtiers and soldiers, who had been present for his service. They arrived on Monday the middle of Shawwāl [December 4, 1286], and he entered his citadel at the 5th hour.

During his absence of this period he issued orders to build a cupola in the Red Courtyard of the protected citadel under the aegis of the emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Manṣūrī. This came to be one of the most marvelous buildings that a king had constructed in any realm.

Whoever objects to this statement, let him say “If so-and-so is in such-and-such a place, then we will give over to him [in that].” The one in this cupola is special because of the colored and gold-covered columns, large and small, a total of 29 columns outside of the porticoes. [Among] that which was made of gold, there were 1300 hand-shaped leaves (*dast*) made of Egyptian gold. As for the marble, its value cannot be counted or measured.

On the walls of its porticoes there was the model/likeness of our master the Sultan's castles, castle by castle, fortress by fortress, with their seas, their rivers, their flat plains and their mountains.

Written on the marble lintel from it was that the initiative to construct it began at the beginning of Sha`bān of this year [September 22, 1286], and was completed in Shawwāl of this year [Dec. 1286]. [140]

Among what the owned one has arranged concerning it:

*Every palace was raised for the dominion, exceeding in loftiness the Egyptian temples,  
Balqīs shouted (ṣarḥa) at the onslaught, while it was Hāmān's tower  
(ṣarḥ)<sup>232</sup> in completion,  
[It was] Ghumdān's palace<sup>233</sup> in Anqalā', and a ravine of Bawwān in overturning,  
How beautiful a cupola has risen, such that it reaches the clouds.*

<sup>232</sup> Q28:38, 40:36; one should note that Balqīs (Queen of Sheba) is also said to have entered a *ṣarḥ* (trans. “palace”) in Q27:44, so the beginning of the line might also be a double entendre.

<sup>233</sup> In Yemen, see Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Mustabṣir* (Beirut: Manshūrāt al-Madīna, 1986), p. 209.

When our master the Sultan arrived, he sat in this cupola, and then its beauty was revealed to him—seeing its beautiful perfection and drinking in its gracefulness. The ruler of Ḥamāh, his paternal uncle, and all the emirs were present in it, while its rays stole their glances, so that their own light increased.

When the good treatment included the ruler of Ḥamāh, his paternal uncle, and those of his emirs and courtiers who were present with acts of kindness, honorary gifts, payments, loads of fabrics of every type, and every precious item, and their saddlebags were filled with every type of bestowed gift,<sup>234</sup> they desired to return and go back, our master the Sultan added to their good deeds.

Then al-Malik al-Muẓaffar and those with him turned back to his realm on Saturday 10 Dhū al-Qa`da [December 28, 1286], and our master the Sultan said goodbye in bounty and beneficence towards him, and saw him off in liberality and good treatment. [141]

**Mention of the ruler of Cyprus being present in Acre,  
and his taking over it, as well as the sending of his  
envoys to the sultanic gates**

King Charles, the brother of [the king of] France,<sup>235</sup> had taken over Acre, as he said that he purchased it from a woman who rightfully owns it by inheritance from the ruler of Cyprus' relatives.<sup>236</sup> On his part, he sent a deputy called Count Roger [of San Severino] to it, to govern in it and all of the areas around it. King John was named King of Jerusalem (*al-bayt al-muqaddas*) and the coastal regions.

When it was this year the ruler of Cyprus<sup>237</sup> went towards Acre leading an excessive group, a large number and boats. He entered it, but the citadel of Acre rebelled against him, as Count Roger was in it. Then the ruler of Cyprus evacuated it, and the end of the matter was that it was handed over to him in return for a safe-conduct, and he settled in it, appointing governors for the districts in Acre.

The whole issue was settled then, and he commanded sending his envoys and gifts to the gates of our master the Sultan, seeking his mercies and favor. [142]

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<sup>234</sup> Compare Joseph with his brothers Q12:62.

<sup>235</sup> In the text, *jān*, presumably a mistake for Charles of Anjou (thanks to the anonymous reader for this suggestion).

<sup>236</sup> Referring to Maria of Antioch, who sold her rights to Charles of Anjou.

<sup>237</sup> Henry II of Cyprus.

**Mention of the blessed Nile flood during 23 *masrā*  
[August 23, 1286]<sup>238</sup> and concerning the blessed Nile**

Our master the Sultan rode, consoling the community (*umma*) by his presence, because of the dike (*al-khalij*) breaking.<sup>239</sup> The people were happy to see his majesty, and a glimmer of his beauty. Our master the Sultan had for a time not been present at this festival because of his involvement in sacral fighting (*jihād*), as this is his greatest concern. For that reason, the subjects' happiness was increased, so their joy and pleasure was magnified. [143]

**Mention of the kings' messengers being present**

During this year Majd al-Dīn Aṭā, envoy of the king Töde Mengü, who had been present previously, but had gone to Mecca, may God ennoble it—him and his companions, with the charity of our master the Sultan—which exacerbated his difficulty, magnified his expenses, but doubled his reward. He then returned to King Töde Mengü.

Then he returned this year, mentioning that the answer had been given to all of the requests of our master the Sultan. The emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Ghutamī sent an envoy with this answer, along with gifts and valuables (*tuḥaf*), horses, equipped with saddles, and provisions, which constituted six “head,” and then they went on their way.

During this year an envoy of Nogai arrived, in the company of Zayn al-Dīn al-Tībrīzī.

During the month of Ramaḍān [Nov. 1286] of this year envoys of the king of al-Abwāb [Meroe], named Adar came, and presented an elephant and a giraffe (*zarāfa*) as a gift. His letter arrived offering his obedience and closeness to the favor of our master the Sultan.

They complained concerning the King of Dongola—ʿAlam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Muʿazzamī had already been sent as an envoy to him from the sultanic gates—but he had returned from there in the company of these envoys. He turned aside from the Dongola road, so the king of Dongola arrested him [144] and was determined to annihilate him.

His followers and intimates rose up against this saying: “Do you want to destroy our land and dwellings?” They put another in his place, and the envoys of the king of al-Abwāb presented themselves [going] by way of ʿAydhāb.<sup>240</sup>

During these days a group of couriers from al-Malik al-Muzaffar, ruler of Yemen arrived. In their hands was correspondence congratulating for the conquest of protected Kerak. Answers to him were written, and his couriers

<sup>238</sup> According to the Coptic calendar.

<sup>239</sup> The sign that the annual Nile inundation was sufficient.

<sup>240</sup> I.e., by sea.



returned in the direction of the Ḥijāz, after they were honored, and made comfortable according to their norm.

During 6 Ramaḍān [October 26, 1286] envoys from Dongola arrived. With them was a gift: 190 “head” of slaves. They brought to Qūṣ 200 “head” of cattle as a gift. [145]

### Mention of the Ḥijāz caravan’s preparation

During this year, our master the Sultan continued as usual with his good deeds, and the good deeds of his usual [way]. He commanded in writing the preparation of travel-camels, which were 100 camels. All the matters were prepared in opposition to it, and the emir of the *isfa-hasalār*, Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Ḥabashī al-Ṣāliḥī, was made the emir of the travelers [pilgrims].

Honorary gifts were prepared for the emirs of the two holy cities [Mecca and Medina], the emirs of the Ḥijāz, and others as usual. Written commands were prepared, and everything that happened usually in preparing its like. Cairo and Old Cairo (*miṣr*) were both adorned, and the camel-bearing litter (*maḥmal*) together with the covering [of the Ka`ba] was paraded around on Tuesday, 15 Shawwāl [December 4, 1286]. They departed at dawn on Saturday, 18 Shawwāl [December 7, 1286], may God ordain safety for them.

On 20 Dhū al-Qa`da of this year [January 7, 1287], the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Mu`azzamī was sent as an envoy to the king of the Nubians, Adar, the king of al-Abwāb, and to the ruler of Bāra, the ruler of al-Tāka, the ruler of Kadrū, the ruler of Dīfū, the ruler of Arā, the ruler of Nafāl, the ruler of al-Anaj, and the ruler of Karasah. `Alā al-Dīn al-Ḥiṣnī was sent to Shamāmūn, the king of Dongola, in the company of his envoys, so they set out. [146]

### Mention of the victorious armies’ movement

And they set out in the company of the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy—and the conquests God made easy at his hands.

At the very tail end of this blessed year, reports followed one after the other from the direction of the enemy, may God annihilate him, that he was headed to al-Raḥba. They had arrived at a place known as al-Maliḥa. Half an hour separates it from al-Raḥba. Those in al-Raḥba, the people of those parts, had fled pell-mell, so the enemy did not gain victory over anyone.

Reports followed that a group of the enemy arrived at the direction of Dīr Yaṣīr, and that they had come across some of the troops at a place known as Kikaldī, as they had departed on an important mission. One who was trustworthy informed them truthfully in Turkish, and warned them about the armies, so they retreated, and did not stop.

The report arrived that a group of the enemy arrived in al-Raqqa, but found no one in it other than six men and a woman, five of whom they killed, while taking one man and the woman. Then they returned.

The reports arrived of a movement [of troops] in Baghdad, that it was secret, but nothing came of it.<sup>241</sup>

When these reports arrived the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn, the deputy in Syria, sent a reconnaissance party (*kashshāfa*) commanded by Sayf al-Dīn Kajkan al-Sayfī, one of the sultan's mamluks, the royal mamluks. When it was 19 Dhū al-Hijja [February 5, 1287], the deputies' letters arrived that the Tatars, when they had raided al-Raḥba, had gained nothing thereby.

Sayf al-Dīn Kajkan was present, together with those of the reconnaissance, and the Bedouin who were with him. They arrived at `Ānā, then he and those with him hid close by it. None of the Mongol deputies went out to them, but they fortified themselves in the citadel, and took protection there. The people of the land fled in boats.

The scouting group stayed until the noontime, so no one departed, then they led their quadrupeds of every type, and returned safely, praise be to God! [147]

Our master the Sultan thought about the enemy, that there would very likely be some type of invasion from them, that they might be strengthened, or become insolent. Then he sent to Ḥusām al-Dīn, the deputy (*kaḥīl*) sultan, to go, accompanied by the armies, in order to stop up this opening, and to conquer other strong fortresses. He showed up on Monday, 4 Dhū al-Hijja [January 21, 1287], and traveled from the citadel on the day of the Slaughter Festival [10 Dhū al-Hijja = January 27, 1287]. after the festival prayers, at the feast-time when the cloths were presented (*ḥuḍūr al-simāt*).

Our master the Sultan rode on the morning of the festival to bid farewell to the armies, and to give them orders, so they went with the goodwill of God Most High. [148]

### **Then began the year 686 [February 16, 1287]. Mention of besieging Ṣahyūn**

When the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn arrived in Damascus, accompanied by the armies, he saw that the reports of the enemy had quieted down, and it was safe from their attack, so he desired to do something for his sultan, to fulfill the trust of good counsel.

Therefore, he turned to the direction of Ṣahyūn, accompanied by the Syrian armies, and siege implements, provisions and arms. He laid siege to Ṣahyūn on 22 Muḥarram [March 9, 1287] of that year, ordering mangonels to be set up against it. Those inside prepared for a siege, setting up their own mangonels.

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<sup>241</sup> This notice is quite elliptic, and there is nothing in the Ik-Khan histories that would suggest what it means.

He deputized the emirs Sayf al-Dīn Jarmak and Najm al-Dīn Qabaq, so they took the small villages (*al-dashār*) close to Burziyya. The siege of Şahyūn continued, and efforts were redoubled. [149]

### Mention of Burziyya's fortress' conquest

On 17 Şafar [April 3, 1287] of this year, the post arrived from the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, the deputy sultan, and commander of the armies, that he should redouble efforts to take Burziyya fortress, and to suborn those in it. He enticed them with the possibility of our master the Sultan's charity (*ṣadaqāt*), and so they were divided into two [groups]: part for the inhabitants of Şahyūn and part for the inhabitants of Burziyya.

When it was Tuesday 9 Şafar [March 26, 1287] an agreement was reached for handing it over, which was sending the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn, the sultan's deputy in protected Syria, and an army numbering 300 horsemen. He sent of the foot soldiers, 300 foot, from the foot-soldiers of Ba`lbak.

It was handed over on Thursday 11 Şafar [March 28, 1287], and this was because the inhabitants of Burziyya lowered the ropes, and raised our soldiers, fighting those in Şahyūn and the mamluks of the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar*, while a number of our soldiers departed.

Then when they were no longer capable [of holding on], they gave themselves over. At that time a number in the citadel had [a sum] earmarked for them, and a fixed income (*ma`lūm*) equivalent to two months [salary] was determined for them. In it the heads of the guard and others had been assigned, as well as the emir Sayf al-Dīn Tājār al-Manşūrī had been assigned to it, together with 20 of his soldiers, such that one was specifically written down as residing in it.

It became organized as one of the fortresses of our master the Sultan, and through him it was brought under governance.

### As for Şahyūn ...

When it was 9 Şafar [March 26, 1287] a Frankish mangonel called Biqshamar, one of the mangonels brought from Damascus, was set up. On that very day it was fired against Şahyūn, and it broke a mangonel inside Şahyūn. Then [150] it was positioned, and broke another mangonel on Wednesday 10 Şafar [March 27, 1287]. It was positioned and broke yet another mangonel on Thursday 11 Şafar [March 28, 1287]. All of those were the mangonels set up inside Şahyūn, which were big Frankish mangonels.

Then requests for help yielded up a big mangonel, not the first one set up, but one of the Manşūrī mangonels constructed in Damascus.

When it was Monday 22 Şafar [April 15, 1287] the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar* answered favorably to handing it over, entering into our master the Sultan's favor, and seeking a meeting with the senior deputized

emirs accompanying the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, the commander of the Maṣṣūrī armies.

They met on the lower walls while he was on the upper ones. He apologized and confessed [his allegiance]. He sent those serving as hostages (*hallafa*) to the emirs, while they sent those serving as hostages to him. He affirmed that he would be present, but not be obligated to receive an *iqṭāʿ* fief or anything else, but would live under the noble mercies [of the Sultan].

He sent his son, Shihāb al-Dīn Ṭamghār, and his deputies to our master the Sultan, with this offer. The emir Badr al-Dīn Baktūt al-ʿAlāʾī al-Maṣṣūrī arrived with them at the beginning of Rabīʿ al-Awwal [April 16, 1287], and our master the Sultan answered them favorably, bestowing a good recompense upon this delegation, and so affairs were established in the way he sought, and more.

His envoys returned to him with all types of booty and bounty. Then the post came that he had gone out and met with the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn, commander of the Maṣṣūrī armies, and with the emirs.

He had let down the bridge, and expelled those country folk, Christians, Shamsiyya,<sup>242</sup> and fighters he had been holding, and then dismantled the mangonels. He sought permission to have him enter to manage his interests, so he entered, and demanded 300 camels to carry his baggage, so he looked into that.

He also demanded some of his livestock, which he had taken for himself, so he was given 60 “head” to choose from. He stayed all day, going out and staying in the Horse Market with the emirs, then returning to manage his affairs. The initiative to transfer the mangonels from Ṣahyūn and from Marqab (and other places) to lay siege to Latakia’s tower happened according to what we will mention. [151]

### Mention of Latakia’s tower’s conquest

This tower stuck in the craw of this area, a disaster of the worst kind to its [people]. Day and night it continued to be a sorrow in Muslims’ hearts and a treasure to the religion’s enemies. That was because it was in the midst of the sea; it had no egress via the land. Its walls could not be tunneled under—how, when its moat was the sea?

The Franks derived a great deal of money from the port of Latakia, which is like the port of Alexandria [in its importance]. God ordained that there were many earthquakes during the month of Muḥarram in that year, and these had an effect upon the fortresses. Among those whose walls were affected was protected Safed, though our master the Sultan was equal to repairing and restoring what was destroyed in it. That was the middle of Muḥarram [March 1287].

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<sup>242</sup> Probably the Shamsiyya regiment.

Among that was the walls' destruction, which almost completely obliterated its remains, which happened in the Ḥimṣ citadel on 21 Muḥarram [March 15, 1287]. Work and renovation proceeded apace until it was as if the destruction had not happened.

On the night of Saturday 5 Ṣafar [March 22, 1287] a terrible earthquake came upon Latakia, during which most of its tower, which was in the midst of the sea, was destroyed. This was because of God's order intending good for the Muslims.<sup>243</sup>

This tower [152] was in control of protecting it, its holy of holies, but the earthquake destroyed a quarter of it, and the Pigeon Tower was destroyed, together with the lamp-place (*qandīl*) from which they would shine lamps, and guide those in the sea thereby. It was a terrible, strong earthquake, and that was one of the reasons why conquering it was easy, and its tower was "polished."<sup>244</sup>

When the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, the commander of the armies, finished off with Ṣahyūn, with its affairs ordered like the sultanic realms, and its water purified, he turned aside to the direction of Latakia, and summoned the mangonels whose "tongues" continue to be applied for victory, and whose "fingers" lead to conquest.<sup>245</sup>

He placed them in places not suitable for feet to pass, and extended a stone bridge upon this [place] and towards it (Latakia). Tunnels were made from the places destroyed by the earthquake,<sup>246</sup> as it had left (the city) exposed, neglected, and unprepared.

At that time they gave up, as they saw that they were going astray remaining in their procrastinating state, realizing that the Sultan was fighting with angels,<sup>247</sup> and earthquakes were among his helpers. Their pigeon did not continue flying, their brand did not light, so they handed (the tower) over, and the standards of our master the Sultan were raised above it on Sunday 5 Rabī' al-Awwal [April 20, 1287].

They were given safe-conduct for their persons and their possessions upon departing, on the condition that they abandon the provisions and weapons inside of it, and it was handed over in the afternoon of the previously mentioned date. The cross was thrown down from its height at the voice of the muezzin, "God is greater!" and all of its people went on their way to any direction. The process of destroying it was begun, so its star set. The mangonels that had been set up against it were dragged to Marqab.

<sup>243</sup> See account in Ambraseys, *Earthquakes*, pp. 351–2 (trans. from Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir).

<sup>244</sup> Wording from Q27:44.

<sup>245</sup> Presumably the "tongue" of the mangonel was its sling (in which the payload would be placed), while the "fingers" would be the pulleys.

<sup>246</sup> Mentioned above.

<sup>247</sup> Cf. Q8:9.

The emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭuruntāy traveled to Tripoli to pursue claims against them, and he stayed until he compelled the Tripolitans to be punished and penalized for that reason, “They say nothing but a lie.”<sup>248</sup> Because of their rebelliousness and aggression God will not grant them success in any endeavor. The sultanic depredations were necessary in order to wake them from this slumber, that they will have a (battle) day after this, and what a day! Their complaint will not be heard.

He traveled to the sultanic formal session, accompanied by the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar*, in the utmost safety and abundance of blessing, carrying out on the way the most awesome service. Our master the Sultan rode out to greet them, greeting [153] the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar* after having sent to him honorary gifts, and treated him well. He was gracious to him, giving him large *‘iqṭā’* fiefs. He rode with the signs of emirship, and served with the proclamation as usual, kissed the standard, the hoof of the horse, and continued with the robes of honor and kindnesses (*iftiqādāt*). [...] <sup>249</sup>

They found at that watering hole one who informed them that the king Ānī was there for two days before proceeding in the direction of Anaj, so the army followed him at another distance, and then returned after killing a large number, and they took their women (*ḥarīm*) captive, took their possessions, and returned with an impressive amount of spoils.

The king Ānī only managed to save seven men, and the army was only delayed in catching up with him because of the intense thirst. This was because land in which they arrived was destroyed, a refuge for elephants and monkeys, wild boar, giraffes and ostriches.

During this the expedition arrived from the Upper Gates (*al-abwāb al-‘āliyya*)<sup>250</sup> with the one who was commanded to be the king in the Nubian lands, named Budma. At the event of his presentation, the emir ‘Izz al-Dīn *al-afram*, commander of the army, assembled the lands’ nobles in the presence of the emirs, and he (Budma) wore the crown according to the custom of their kings.

He swore an oath to our master the Sultan, and the subjects swore to him. They swore that they would not obey him except as long as he was in obedience to our master the Sultan. If he left obedience then the crown would be taken from him, and he would be delivered to the Upper Gates.

The people of the land said to him, “If it were not for our master the Sultan we would not obey you; whenever you change (this) we will arrest you. We are satisfied that our master the Sultan has established for us a king, whether a peasant or a mountain-dweller, as the land of Nubia has no other king than our master the Sultan and we are his subjects.” [154]

<sup>248</sup> Q18:5.

<sup>249</sup> There appears to be a break here in the text, as the next paragraph begins to discuss Nubia.

<sup>250</sup> Presumably the area of the Sixth Cataract, a little to the north of Khartoum.

### Mention of something connected with the Nubian kings<sup>251</sup>

A king whose name was Meshkedet was listed in the realm of Nubia after the King David [who reigned] during the period of al-Zāhir [Baybars], and al-Malik al-Zāhir sent a man from al-Abwāb, an Ismaili martyrdom-seeker (*fidāwī*) whose name was Salāma to frequent the above Nubian king. He ordered him to conceal that he was a martyrdom-seeker.

He agreed that this Salāma would seek a *lāziq* (acolyte) boy as a companion. Salāma openly disputed with the *lāziq* boy, so the two separated, and the *lāziq* stayed with King Meshkedet.

The king put him under his protection, and made him armor-bearer (*silāhdār*). Therefore, they were sitting in a garden when the boy rushed at King Meshkedet and killed him. The boy, too, was killed, whereupon a man by the name of Berek became king, and was crowned during the days of the sultan [Qalāwūn].

[Negative] matters began to happen, and when the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sinjār al-Masrūrī was sent, he captured him. He was destroyed, and another man whose name was Shamāmūn was appointed. He remained [in power] until the country-folk rose up against him, as mentioned, and our master the Sultan sent the present king from his imprisonment. He was made king, crowned—his name is Budma, and he is the king presently.

After that the emir `Izz al-Dīn *al-afra*m returned to Dongola after he had invaded to the distance of a 33 days [march]. When he entered it, the armies assembled, while the firemen (*ḥarārīq*) and the boats did an exercise with naphtha and the marching bands (*tablkhānāt*).

They entered the church of Sūs, making the king swear to be an ally, and making Jurays swear as well. If either one of them was disobedient the other one would aid our master the Sultan against him. The subjects and priests all swore.

The emir `Izz al-Dīn *al-afra*m detached an army and foot-soldiers, giving them an amount of flour, barley and other things. The emir `Izz al-Dīn with the rest of the army journeyed in return [to Egypt].

Five days after his departure a letter from this King Budma arrived to him [155] in which he mentioned that the country-folk returning to it and to their settlements.

A letter from the king of al-Abwāb arrived, while mentioning that he had only been dilatory in presenting himself because he had been following behind King Ānī. All of the land of Anaj had been conquered by a king not its own, and he was scheming to take it from him. When he would take it then all of the Land of the Blacks (*sūdān*) would be in the grasp of our master the Sultan, and obedient to him.

<sup>251</sup> Compare trans. Vantini, *Oriental Sources*, pp. 425–30.



A terrible fear of our master the Sultan's armies had entered into the hearts of the country-folk of the Blacks, because his army had achieved what no other army previously had achieved, other than Alexander Dhū al-Qarnayn (the Great)'s army. Only a single man from the Maṣṣūrī army was lost, killed in the path of God, while another drowned.

The emir `Izz al-Dīn *al-afṣam* reached Michael Island on Thursday 3 Rabī' al-Awwal [March 7, 1290], then the emir `Izz al-Dīn *al-afṣam*, together with the armies accompanying him, reached [Cairo] on Monday 5 Rabī' al-Ākhir [April 8, 1290]. Then our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf honored him and the emirs dispatched with him by meeting with them at al-Qarāfa.<sup>252</sup>

The emir `Izz al-Dīn *al-afṣam* had called for 300 camels to carry the prisoners, and those were delivered to him. A number of Nubian notables on riding camels (*hijṣ*) with spears in their hands were present. An elephant with a large number of tusks were brought forward, accompanied by loads from the country that the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn had designated to take out.

The armies entered decked out in their best clothes, and the people came out to see the spectacle. It was a vast gathering; all passing under the protected citadel, while our master the Sultan viewed it in its entirety.

He thanked God for these gifts that He had made possible, such that every day prisoners were brought before him, sometimes from the east, sometimes from the west. Because he and his troops had either raided or warred, speared or struck [with a sword] in every place of unbelief, and God had brought advance close to his armies, every month there would be an expedition or an advance against the Christians (*rūm*) and an advance against Dongola, may God increase His bounty! [156]

**Mention of the peace between the king of Aragon,  
the Barcelonan, his brother the ruler of Sicily,  
and our master the Sultan<sup>253</sup>**

In this year [686/1287] the Barcelonan—named Don Alfonso, who was the one who took the dominions of King Charles (*jār*), the brother of [the king of] France, and the Emperor—his envoys arrived. They beseeched the mercy of our master the Sultan in a peace similar to the one between the Emperor [Frederick II] and al-Malik al-Kāmil.

Among all their gifts that they brought to the sultanic gates, were 70 Muslim prisoners who had been in their land for a lengthy time. They were offered for the favor of our master the Sultan in every eventuality. They guaranteed that they would be the enemies of our master the Sultan's enemies, and the friends of his friends.

<sup>252</sup> Reading this with Vantini, in the text *qarāba*.

<sup>253</sup> Compare trans. in Holt, pp. 131–40.

They stayed for days while the treaty document was being prepared. His envoys wrote the copy with their own hands in Arabic and in French (*faranjī*), asking to take it with them to the one they served.

They wrote their script on the Arabic copy, intending to keep it until they returned to the one they served,<sup>254</sup> and to his brother, the ruler of Sicily. Then they would return to seek out the envoys of our master the Sultan. Our master the Sultan swore what was repeated, and our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf swore as well. [157]

### Text of the treaty

Love, sincere affection, and friendly relations are established between our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the glorious lord, the knowing, the just, Sword of this World and the Religion, Sultan of the Egyptian homelands and the Syrian lands, and Aleppo, Sultan of kings, king of the east in its entirety, Sultan of Nubia, land of King David, Sultan of Jerusalem (*al-bayt al-muqaddas*), Sultan of the noble high house in Mecca, may God glorify it, Sultan of Yemen, and the Hijāz, Sultan of all the Arabs, Sultan of all Islam, lord of kings and sultans, Abū al-Faḥ Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī, and his son, heir-apparent, master al-Malik al-Ashraf, the glorious lord, the knower, the just, Righteousness of this World and the Religion, al-Khalīl, and the kings his sons,

And his majesty the glorious ennobled king, the wise, the kingly (*bāsil*), the lion, the honored, respected Don Alfonso, King of Aragon, and his brother, the glorious, ennobled king, the wise leonine lion,<sup>255</sup> the King Don Jaime, ruler of Sicily, and their brothers Don Frederico and Don Pedro, on the date blessed Tuesday, 13 Rabī' al-Ākhir year 689 [April 25, 1290] of the prophetic *hijra*, the prayers, peace and greetings of God be upon him, which corresponds to 23 April year 1289<sup>256</sup> from the birth of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, upon him be peace.

This was in the presence of the envoys of the King of Aragon, who were the chief envoy Estebán Nogera, and Raimundo Alemany, residing in Barcelona, and the doctor David ben Ḥasday the Israelite (Jew),<sup>257</sup> who was the minister

<sup>254</sup> Reading *makhdūm* in place of *maḥdūm*, as above.

<sup>255</sup> So Holt for *al-asad al-dirghām*.

<sup>256</sup> Holt also cannot understand the mistake of the year (which is obviously inaccurate, or otherwise Syrian Tripoli would not have been part of Mamluk territory as listed below). Tripoli fell on April 26, 1289.

<sup>257</sup> This person has not been identified, but the use of the Jew in negotiations and as a notary for Arabs is well-established for Aragon during this period: Yom Tov Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1997), p. 133.

to his majesty the King of Aragon, his scribes with his letter, sealed with the seal of the aforementioned king.

The gist of it was that they trusted all of what he said, and affirmed the basis for the peace, love and friendship, and they agree to undertake the conditions stipulated by our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr for the King of Aragon, and that he obligates himself by all the conditions that are to follow, and that the previously mentioned king swear to them, him, and his previously mentioned brothers, and that the previously mentioned envoys put their signatures to all of the sections that are to come with his order and commander, that the King of Aragon and his brothers are obligated by them.

Love and friendship are established from the date previously mentioned throughout the years and cycles, with nights and days following each other, by land and sea, flat land and rugged, near and far, on the condition that the land [158] of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr and his son al-Malik al-Ashraf, and the kings, their children, their castles, fortresses, and border-forts, their realms and ports, their lands—coastlands and dry lands, all regions, and cities—everything that is inside of their realm, considered to be part of it, and is ascribed to it, from the rest of the Rūm, Iraqī, eastern, Syrian, Aleppan, Euphrates, Yemeni, Ḥijāzī regions, the Egyptian homelands, and the west.

The boundary of these regions and lands, their ports and coastlands, from the eastern and Syrian dry land, from Constantinople, and the Rūm lands, the coastal lands, Latakia, Syrian Tripoli, and all the ports, and dry lands until the border port of Damietta, the Lake of Tinnīs,<sup>258</sup> with its boundary on the western side of the dry land opposite Tūnis and Ifrīqīyā [Tunisia], its lands and ports, and Libyan Tripoli, and its border forts, lands, and ports, to the border port of Alexandria, and Rosetta, the Lake of Banū Labīs, its coastal lands and ports, and everything that these lands includes.

And the realms which were not mentioned, cities, border forts, coastlands, ports, routes by land and sea, places of departure and arrival, staying and traveling, of armies and troops, Turkmen, Kurds, nomadic Arabs, and subjects, merchants and galleys, boats and ships, possessions, and quadrupeds,<sup>259</sup> according to different religions, people, ethnicities, and whatever types are held, possessions, weapons, provisions, merchandise, goods, trade-items, small or great, near or far, on land or at sea, are safe for their persons, lives, possessions, women (*ḥarīm*) and children from the

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<sup>258</sup> See John Cooper, *The Medieval Nile* (Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 2014), pp. 214, 227 on its location.

<sup>259</sup> Following Holt, reading *mawāshī* in place of *mawānīt*.

previously mentioned King of Aragon and his brothers, from their children, their knights, their horsemen, their allies, fleets, and men, everyone who is connected to them.

In the same way, everything that God may allow our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr to conquer at his hand, and at the hand of his sons, his armies, his troops, whether castles, fortresses, lands, or regions—all of this is equally applicable.

On the condition that the lands [159] of the King of Aragon, his brothers, and the previously mentioned realm, which is the land of Aragon, and its border forts, and districts, Majorca [island], its districts and lands, Valencia, its districts and lands, the region of Barcelona, its districts and lands, Sicily, its island, lands and districts, Apulia, its districts and lands, the island of Maḷta, and Patelleria, its lands and districts, Minorca and Ibiza [islands], their lands, Roussillon,<sup>260</sup> its districts, and whatever the King of Aragon will conquer from the lands of his enemies, the neighboring Franks, in that region, are safe from our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, his sons, his armies and troops, his galleys and fleets—they and the knights, horsemen, subjects, and the people of the land that are in it [Aragon] are safe, tranquil in their persons, possessions, women and children, in land and sea, and places of departure and arrival.

On the condition that the King of Aragon will be, him and his brothers, friends of those who are friendly to our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the kings and their sons, as well as enemies to those of the rest of the Frankish kings and other non-Frankish kings who act in enmity towards him.

If the Pope in Rome or one of the Frankish kings, crowned or uncrowned, great or small, Genoese, Venetian, from the other various ethnicities of the Franks or Byzantines, or the houses, the Templar Brethren, or Hospitallers, or all the different ethnicities of the Christians, should come seeking to harm our master the Sultan by waging war or acting harmfully, the King of Aragon will prevent them, and even ward them off, provision his galleys and boats, him and his brothers, attack their [the Sultan's enemies'] lands, distract them in themselves from intending harm to the land of our master the Sultan, his previously mentioned ports, his coastal lands, and his border ports, and ones not mentioned. They will fight them on land and sea with their galleys, fleets, knights, horsemen, and foot-soldiers.

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<sup>260</sup> Following Holt.

On the condition that if one of [160] their allies from the Franks of Acre, Tyre, the coastlands and other places, was to deviate from the established conditions of the truce between him and them, and were something to happen that would abrogate the truce, neither the King of Aragon, nor his brothers, his horsemen, his knights, or the *aṣl* [nobility?] of his land,<sup>261</sup> would not aid them with horses, horsemen, weapons, possessions, aid, provisions, boats, galleys or anything else.

On the condition that whenever the Pope in Rome, the Frankish, Byzantine, Tatar, or other kings request aid, assistance, horsemen, foot-soldiers, possessions, boats, galleys or weapons from the King of Aragon or his brothers, or from his lands, he will not agree to any of that, neither in secret nor publicly, nor aid any one of them, or agree to any of that.

Whenever he learns of one of them who is intending to attack the lands of our master the Sultan either in (open) warfare or to harm, he will go and notify our master the Sultan of what he knows of them, and which direction they have agreed to attack in the timeliest fashion prior to their setting out from their lands, and not concealing anything on this subject.

On the condition that whenever one of the Islamic boats breaks up/wrecks in the lands of the King of Aragon or his brothers or allies, all who are in them, merchants, seamen (*baḥḥāra*), possessions, (male) slaves (*mamālīk*), and female slaves will be safe in their persons, possessions and goods. The King of Aragon obligates himself to guard them, and their boats and possessions, to assist them in repairing their boats, and to expedite them, they, their possessions and goods, to the lands of our master the Sultan.

In the same way, if a boat from the lands of the King of Aragon breaks up/wrecks, or the lands of his brothers, in the lands of our master the Sultan, their treatment will be reciprocal.

On the condition that whenever one of the Muslim merchants or one of the Christians of the lands of our master the Sultan, or those protected (religious minorities) in the lands of the King of Aragon, the lands of his brothers, his sons, or his allies, he will not obstruct them in their possessions or in their goods, but will transport their possessions and what has survived (*mawjūd*) to the lands of our master the Sultan to do what he would choose. In the same way, any who die in the lands of our master

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<sup>261</sup> Holt understands this as a corruption of *nās* “people,” but there does not seem to be an equivalent to this in any of the other treaties.

the Sultan from the people of the realm of the King of Aragon, the lands of his brothers, and allies—they will receive reciprocal treatment.

On the condition that when envoys from our master the Sultan cross over the lands of the King of Aragon going in whatever direction either far or near, departing or returning, or if the wind should blow them to his lands, the envoys, their servants and followers, and whichever envoys of the kings is additionally with them, they will be safe, guarded in their persons, possessions, and he will send them to the lands of our master the Sultan.

On the condition [161] that the King of Aragon will not facilitate pirates or corsairs to provision in his lands, nor (even) to take on water. Whenever he would be victorious over pirates, he should arrest them, carrying out what is obligatory upon them, and send along whatever Muslim prisoners they have with them, together with the goods, the women and the children to the lands of our master the Sultan. In the same way if one of the pirates were to be present in the lands of our master the Sultan, reciprocal treatment shall be accorded towards the lands of the King of Aragon.

Whenever anyone from his lands commits an action that necessitates the abrogation of this mutual truce agreement (*muhādana*), it is incumbent upon the King of Aragon to seek out the one who committed this (action), and to carry out what is obligatory upon him.

On the condition that the King of Aragon permits the people of his lands and other Frankish ones to deliver iron, white linen (*bayād*), wood and other things to the Islamic border ports.

On the condition that whenever one of the Muslims is imprisoned on land or at sea, from the starting-point of this mutual truce agreement, from the rest of the lands, east and west, distant and nearby, and they bring him to the King of Aragon, the lands of his brothers and his allies to sell him, the King of Aragon is obligated to release them from imprisonment, and to transport them to the lands of our master the Sultan.

On the condition that whenever there are (commercial) dealings between Muslim merchants and merchants of the lands of the King of Aragon with regard to goods, when they are in the lands of our master the Sultan, the matter will be taken according to the noble Law.<sup>262</sup>

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<sup>262</sup> I.e., they will not receive the second-class treatment of *dhimmis*.

On the condition that whenever one of the Muslims sails in the boats of the King of Aragon, and transports his merchandise with him, and the merchandise is lost, it is the responsibility of the King of Aragon to return it, if it is found, or its value, if it is lost permanently.

On the condition that whenever someone flees from the lands of our master the Sultan who is covered by this mutual truce agreement to the lands of the King of Aragon, or the lands of his brothers, or comes with merchandise for another, and stays in those lands, the King of Aragon will return the one who fled and the possessions with him to the lands of our master the Sultan as long as he is a Muslim. If he converts to Christianity, then the possessions should be returned alone. With regard to the realms of the King of Aragon and his brother, this is applicable to the one who flees from their lands to the lands of our master the Sultan reciprocally.

On the condition that whenever anyone from the lands of the King of Aragon, the lands of his brothers and their Frankish allies should arrive intending to perform pilgrimage to noble Jerusalem (*al-Quds*), who has in hand a letter from the king of Aragon, with his seal, to the deputy of our master the Sultan in noble Jerusalem, his pilgrimage will be facilitated, allowed as a right to fulfill his pilgrimage and to return to his land safe, tranquil in his person and his possessions, whether man or woman, inasmuch as the King of Aragon does not write such a letter on behalf of his enemies, or on behalf of the enemies of our master the Sultan in the matter of the pilgrimage, and that the King of Aragon [162] guards all of the lands of our master the Sultan from every harm, and endeavors that none of our master the Sultan's enemies arrive in the lands of our master the Sultan, nor aids them in harming the lands of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr or the lands of his son the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf, and their subjects. And that he renders assistance to our master the Sultan and his son al-Malik al-Ashraf on land and sea, in everything that they wish and choose.

On the condition that the contractual rights of those who depart and arrive, and travel back and forth from the lands of the King of Aragon to the border ports of Alexandria and Damietta, to the Islamic borderlands, the sultanic realms, and the rest of the types of goods and trading-goods in their various manners, continue to be subject to the taxes levied from the customs houses to the end of the time, without anything new being added. This will also be applicable to those who pass back and forth from the sultanic lands to the lands of the King of Aragon.

This love and mutual friendship will continue in accordance with these conditions delineated above between the two sides continually and



continuously. Its laws and principles shall be applicable in the best possible manner. By this the two realms have become as if one, and a single realm. This shall not be abrogated by the death of either of the two parties, nor the removal of a ruler or the appointment of another, but its laws shall be supported, and continue for its days, months, and years.

Upon this it has been arranged and established on the date mentioned previously, which is Tuesday 13 Rabī` al-Ākhir years 689 of Muḥammad's *hijra*, may the prayers and peace of God be upon its initiator, which corresponds to 23 April year 1289 [=1290] from the birth of the Lord Messiah Jesus, upon whom be peace.

A Copy of the Oath which our Master the Sultan swore to the King of Aragon and his brothers

I say, being Qalāwūn son of `Abdallāh al-Ṣāliḥī, by God, by God, by God, by the truth of the religion of Islam, the truth of the tremendous Qur'ān, which binds the Muslims, that this peace and friendship which is established between myself and the king of Aragon, I will not change it, and nor depart from it as long as king of Aragon is loyal to the oath [163] that my envoys shall administer to him and his brothers, for myself, my children, all the people of my lands, and God is the guarantor for what I say.

A Copy of the Oath that our Master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Swore in the presence of his father, may God aid the both of them

I say, being Khalīl son of Qalāwūn, by God, by God, by God, by the truth of the religion of Islam, by the truth of the Qur'ān which binds the Muslims, that this peace and friendship which is established between our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, Sayf al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, Sultan of Islam and the Muslims, Sultan of the east and the west, lord of kings and sultans, my father, may God grant him victory, between myself and the king of Aragon, I will not change it, nor depart from it, nor allow anyone else to change it as long as the king of Aragon is loyal to the oath that the envoys of our master the Sultan, may God grant him victory, him and his brethren, for himself and his brethren.

A Copy of the Oath that the King of Aragon swore

I say, being Alfonso, by God, by God, by God, by the truth of the Messiah, by the truth of the Cross, by the truth of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of Light, by the truth of the four Gospels which were transmitted by Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, by the truth of the Voice that

descended upon the Jordan River, and rebuked it, by the truth of my religion and the One I worship, and my belief;

I from this time and hour, as long as God extends my life, I have purified my intention, ridding my heart [of anything], making certain that both externally and internally I am equal in my friendship with our master the Sultan, al-Malik al-Manṣūr, Sayf al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, Sultan of Islam and the Muslims, Sultan of the Egyptian homelands, Syria and Aleppo, Rūm,<sup>263</sup> Iraq, the east and the west, Sultan of all Islam, lord of kings and sultans, Abū al-Faṭḥ Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī, and friendship to his son, designated successor, the master Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf, Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, Khalīl, and the kings, his sons, and love for them, and continuing to love them.

My realm and their realm will be as one in guarding, friendship, and love, as one king, and I, by the truth of the Messiah and the Cross, the truth of the Gospel, am a true friend to our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, and friends of his son, and an enemy [164] to their enemies, at war with whoever of the other Franks and Christian ethnicities intends to attack their lands, come what may.

I will fight them, distract them, in their persons, from intending to attack our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr either with war or harm, and I intend to act in all this in accord with the conditions of this mutual truce agreement and friendship dated Tuesday, the month 13 Rabī` al-Ākhir the year 689 of the Prophet Muḥammad's *hijra*, which corresponds to April 23, which was arranged between our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, his son al-Malik al-Ashraf, and the kings his sons, and myself, and my three brothers, who are the king, wise [=Jaime], ruler of Sicily, Frederico and Don Pedro, in the presence of my envoys whose names are mentioned in the previously mentioned mutual truce agreement.

My order to my envoys is to be obligated on my behalf and on behalf of my brothers, by all of the laws and conditions as long as nights and days, months and years continue, in accord with my letter to our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, and my seal is upon that.

I will not remove any of this conditions, but will continue with it, myself, my brothers, my sons, and my realm, as long as the days and nights continue, to the realm of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the realm of his son al-Malik al-Ashraf, and his sons, without changing it or voiding it.

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<sup>263</sup> Here it seems unlikely that al-Rūm means the Seljuqs, but those sections of Anatolia controlled by the Mamluks.

I by the great God, will guard the subjects of the Muslims' lands, all of them, in my lands, and will look after them, act in accord with the conditions of the previously mentioned mutual truce agreement towards them, and whenever I am in opposition to (any one) of its conditions, then I will be excommunicated from my religion, in opposition to my held belief, the held belief of my religion's people.

The oath, which is my oath, and the intention in it is the intention of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the intention of his son, al-Malik al-Ashraf, that of his sons the kings, and that of the ones who have sworn to them by it, "God is a guardian over what [I] say."<sup>264</sup> [165]

### Mention of the peace (*sulh*) with the Genoans

We have already mentioned that a Genoan named Benedict Zaccaria and Bartholomew of Gibelet had taken control over Tripoli. As for Bartholomew of Gibelet, God carried out His judgement upon him, and caused him to die a death such as Pharaoh.<sup>265</sup> As for Benedict Zaccaria, he departed from the realm, and ruling in Tripoli, to [commit] piracy on the sea, so became a corsair (*karsālī*).<sup>266</sup>

He encountered a boat departing from Alexandria in which there were merchants, so he took them after much fighting and bloodshed of their crewmates, as well as the merchants, and took their possessions. Every Genoese in Alexandria was afraid that their evil (action) would be cause for revenge against them, so they boarded their boats and fled.

When this reached our master the Sultan he arrested any Genoese who remained in the (coastal) border-ports, although he did not interfere with any of their possessions, and closed the sea-routes for the Genoese nation.<sup>267</sup> The people of Acre disassociated themselves from them, with all the Franks, and even the Lascarid [Palaeologan Byzantine emperor].

Benedict Zaccaria was not able to withstand this pressure, and so went to Genoa, but they refused him because of this, and took the merchants and possessions from him, sending envoys to our master the Sultan, disassociating themselves from this act, and distancing themselves from anything like it.

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<sup>264</sup> A slight modification of Q12:66, changing the "we" of the verse to "I"; also Q28:28.

<sup>265</sup> Drowning.

<sup>266</sup> On him, see *Templar of Tyre*, pp. 96–8; and Roberto Lopez, *Benedetto Zaccaria: Ammiraglio e mercante nella Genova del Duecento* (Florence: Camunia, 1996 [reprint]), pp. 101–18, 129–49, and *passim*.

<sup>267</sup> Both de Sacy and Holt read *jins* in place of *jaysh*, which seems reasonable.

They said: “This one [Zaccaria] and *balankīr bn banṣāl* the Genoan<sup>268</sup> who some time ago harassed the area of al-Ṭīna,<sup>269</sup> have departed from us and become corsairs. They do not dare come in [to dock] with us, and we have returned the merchants and possessions, and everything that was taken from the boat, fearing our master the Sultan’s response and seeking his favor.”

The envoys at the gates [of our master] then swore upon the Gospel, in the presence of the bishops and monks from among them, that they did not conceal anything of the possessions nor any one of the merchants. They requested the establishment of a truce from that time, but our master the Sultan hesitated for a long time, and was harsh against them, while they were supplicating and begging.

In the end, for the prosperity of the (coastal) border-ports, and because this nation<sup>270</sup> brings wealth, and huge amount that the treasury gains from them, a truce was written, which is: [166]

**A copy of the truce (*hudna*) of our master the Sultan with the Genoans—  
this was in the presence of the bishops and monks**

I, Albert Spinola, envoy of the Podesta Bertrand de Carcan, and the Captains (*al-kaṭāniyya*) Hubert Spinola and Conrad Doria, the elders, councilors of the Commune of Genoa, say, I swear by God (*allāh*), by God, by the awesome God, by the truth of the Messiah, the truth of the Cross, the truth of the holy Gospel, the one God,

By the truth of the Virgin Mary, the truth of the Four Gospels: Luke, Matthew, Mark and John, their prayers and their sanctifications, by the truth of the Voice which descended from the heavens upon the Jordan River, then rebuked it, by the truth of the Baptismal Fathers, by the truth of the Holy Gospel, and by the truth of my religion and the One I worship,

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<sup>268</sup> Probably Paolino Doria, the consul of Caffa (Crimea), who had sent three ships to the Mediterranean to support Zaccaria (Epstein, *Genoa & the Genoese*, pp. 179–81). Amari’s reading of *balankīr* = Pellegrino is superficially attractive, except it is not clear that name was utilized during this period. If it were a nickname (as a corsair might take for himself), then why would the Genoans be so specific in naming him and his father? If one breaks this up as *b-l-n* (Paolino), then (*k*) as a mistake for *d* combined with *i-r* gives Doria, in which case the *bn banṣāl* probably renders *il console*. The *ṣ* (of the Ar. *qunṣul* = consul) makes it unlikely that *banṣāl* is a name, and the title was known at this time (see the names in the treaty).

<sup>269</sup> In the west Egyptian delta.

<sup>270</sup> Again in place of *jaysh*.

I am obligated to my master the Sultan, al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the lord, the most glorious, the knowing, the just, Sword of this World and the Religion, Sultan of Egypt and Syria, and Aleppo, Sultan of Yemen and the Hijāz, Sultan of the House [Ka`ba] of Mecca, the high House, may God Most High glorify it, Sultan of Jerusalem (*al-Quds*), and the Holy Land (*al-bilād al-muqaddasa*), the coastal lands, and of the Muslims' and his conquests, Sultan from coastal [Lebanese] Tripoli to western [Libyan] Tripoli, Sultan of the east and of the west, Sultan of the kings, king of the remaining Arabs and non-Arabic speaking [Persians], Sultan of all Islam, Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī,

And his son the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf, Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, Khalīl, may God protect them and give them victory:

By the decree of the previously mentioned Podesta, the captains, and the elders of the Commune of Genoa, that they will protect, respect and honor all the Muslims belonging to our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr and his son the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf, who are coming to the lands of our master the Sultan, as well as those who are departing from the lands of our master the Sultan, from other lands and regions of the world (*aqālīm*), from the Frankish lands, the Byzantine/Anatolian lands, and the Muslims.

Among these are envoys, merchants and others, safe as well as wrecked in ships, and boats, rounded Mediterranean war boats (*tarā'id*),<sup>271</sup> galleys, or other types of boats, goods, persons, and possessions, male slaves (*mamālīk*) and female slaves in their boats on land and at sea, and in all the localities of the Commune of Genoa, together with whatever lands it conquers, and rules from the date of this truce, as long as night and daylight, days, months and years continue.

All Genoese will honor, respect and guard all the Muslims, those who are present in the lands of our master the Sultan, those who have departed and are traveling on land and at sea, without harassing them or even attempting [167] to harass them harmfully, without harm or aggression, neither to their person or possession, neither in their comings or goings.

They will all be safe, tranquil, in their persons, possessions and spirits from all Genoese, from those who are under the rule of the Commune of Genoa, according to what has been previously mentioned, and that they will guard all the Muslim merchants and others, those who are traveling in

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<sup>271</sup> See Agius, glossary, "Mediterranean rounded warship, for cargo and transport, also for horse."

Genoese boats and others, as they are going and coming, in all the localities belonging to the Commune of Genoa and others among the Frankish lands, the Byzantine/Anatolian lands, and the lands of the Muslims.

Whoever travels together with them from the Muslims' lands, together with others, will be guarded, safe and tranquil; none shall strong-arm them, harm them in their traveling or in their staying [in a place], or in their settling [in a place]. If one of the Muslims travels in a non-Genoese boat, belonging to the enemies of the Genoese or others, none should harass any one of the Muslims.

If they [the Genoese] take their enemy, all the Muslims will be guarded and safe in their persons, possessions, male and female slaves, in their goings and comings, the Genoese should not block them for any reason, nor should they take a Muslim from his fellow, seek after him for a debt, blood, even if he is not a guarantor or guardian.

These sections, and this peace, with these conditions are established between our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, and his son al-Malik al-Ashraf, and the previously mentioned Podesta, the captains, the elders and counselors of the Commune of Genoa. Albert Spinola, the previously mentioned envoy, swore to this, in the presence of Boniface Zurla, Daniel Tancredi, Franceschino Rubes, Rainer Boccanegra, the Consul Raffo, and Teologo Fallero.

It was written on the date May 13, 1290 from the birth of Jesus, upon him be peace.

An interlinear copy in French was written, line for line, and word for word. The envoy wrote his handwriting above this truce in French in his hand, together with the scribe for the interlinear writing in French on behalf of *al-balankār* [Paolino Doria] the Genoan, the scribe for the envoy and the Commune of Genoa.

#### A Hand-written Copy of the Bishop who swore the Envoy

The previously mentioned Albert Spinola, the consuls and Genoese merchants who were present accompanying him, swore upon a copy this oath and the peace, with the detailed sections in it, on 14 Ayyār year [168] 6798 [May 14, 1290] in my presence, as I am the miserable Peter, Bishop of Egypt,<sup>272</sup> while the pure Gospel was in front of me, and the envoy's hand, while he was standing bare-headed.

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<sup>272</sup> Or Old Cairo.

I wrote this with my own hand, bearing witness against them that they swore using the great oath upon the Gospel and the Cross in the presence of some of the priests and monks who have also written.

Copies of the handwriting of some of those present for this Oath

I was present and bear witness to it. (The delegate signed and he was Father<sup>273</sup> Arsenius.) 1. I was present at this and I bear witness to it, signed Arsenius, abbot of Dayr al-Qaṣr.<sup>274</sup> 2. I was present at this and I bear witness to it, signed Matthew,<sup>275</sup> *al-tharas* (deacon?). 3. He was present, and bore witness to it,<sup>276</sup> Michael, monk from Mt. Sinai.

After that a group signed in Frankish writing: Boniface [Zurfa], the Genoese consul, Angelino, owner of the ship, the merchant, Daniel Capello, the merchant, Raffo, the consul, the noble Rainer Boccanegra.

The previously mentioned sections were arranged on Sunday, 2 Jumādā al-Ulā<sup>277</sup> 689 [May 21, 1290], and may God treat their signing well. The part written in the Frankish script rendered into Arabic was read by Shams al-Dīn `Abdallāh al-Manṣūrī.<sup>278</sup> The translator [sic] Sābiq al-Dīn the translator and `Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Kubakī the interpreter translated for him for verification of the translation into Arabic, and for bearing witness of its veracity on the previously mentioned date.

A Copy of the Oath upon which the Envoys swore

And they wrote with their own handwriting in Frankish in the presence of the Bishop

By God, by God, by the truth of the Messiah, by the truth of the Messiah, by the truth of the Messiah, by the truth of the Cross, by the truth of the Cross, by the truth of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, by the truth of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of Light, by the truth of

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<sup>273</sup> Reading *al-ān* as *al-apa*.

<sup>274</sup> Unidentified. There is a Dayr al-Quṣayr located near Mt. Muqaṭṭam on the Upper Egypt road, listed in Yāqūt, *al-Khazal wa-l-dāl bayna al-dūr wa-l-dārāt wa-l-diyāra* (Damascus: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa, 1998), ii, pp. 450–8 (no. 190); also al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭāt*, iv, pp. 1055–6.

<sup>275</sup> It is not clear why Holt reads this name as Menas, as Mattā (= Matthew) is clear.

<sup>276</sup> Presumably the different phrasing means that this monk could not write.

<sup>277</sup> Correcting from al-Awwal.

<sup>278</sup> From his name and position as translator probably a convert to Islam.



the four Gospels transmitted by Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, by the truth of the Apostles (*al-talāmidha*) and the Disciples, by the truth of the Voice which descended upon the Jordan River, and rebuked it, by the truth of my religion and the One I worship, my certainty in the Christian religion, by the truth of the Divinity, the Humanity and the Trinity, by the truth of the Lord (*sayyid*) Jesus the Messiah, the worshipped Lord (*rabb*):

I have not concealed anything of what was found belonging to the Muslim merchants, of their possessions, or goods, nor do I know of any of them who remains in captivity, or anything that remains belonging to them, with any of the Genoese that I have concealed, [169] or have broken away.

I, by God, by the truth of the Messiah, I have either with me or my companions produced every sum from the Commune of Genoa or the Genoese who took [the goods] as compensation for what is missing that belonged to them—the price of the sugar, the linen (*kittān*), and the pepper, and the price of the boat, which was 1600 dinars. I have not brought any extra. This produced total is what the boat, the sugar, and the pepper were sold for, and the boat together with its provisions, without extra or omission.

If something after this oath were to appear contradicting it, and it comes out that we concealed one of those Muslims or something of those merchants' possessions, or have hidden it, or left it behind us, and did not produce it, or have brought together with us a sum that would compensate for what was lost, and if one of our nation should bear witness against us for that, or someone who is not of our nation whose word is accepted, then an indemnity for it [should be paid], with its value being its apparent value.

I, by God, by the truth of the Messiah, I have not concealed anything of that, so if I have concealed anything of that, namely possessions or goods, or I know of someone who is concealing them, I will be excommunicated from my religion, holding to that which is in opposition to the Lord Messiah and his Divinity, I know only this.

A Copy of the testimony against them

He bore witness, and I, Peter, the Melkite bishop of Egypt, to all that is above this paper against the Genoese envoy, whose name is Albert Spinola, the Genoese envoy. Signed in my hand, Thursday 9 Ayyār 6798. [170]

### Mention of the Ethiopian messengers' arrival at the gates of our master the Sultan

During the month of Ramadan, the year 689 [September 1290] an envoy from Ethiopia arrived. Its [the message's] address was, "The beloved owned one (*mamluk*) Sulaymān, the king of Ethiopia, Yakbab Ṣahyūn."<sup>279</sup>

It contained that he had dispatched an envoy for the purpose of peace.<sup>280</sup> With him, for Jerusalem, was a garment, of Ethiopian work, plus 100 candles for lighting in the churches (*hayākil*). He requested facilitation of [delivery] for the Ethiopian monks dwelling in noble Jerusalem, and to enjoin upon them that they would not be prevented from entering the churches.

He said that he had sent a gold-encrusted spear as a torch accompanying Yūsuf b. `Abd al-Raḥmān [al-] Sharīfī, and requested the conveyance of a Metropolitan (*maṭrān*) to set aright the Ethiopian lands, in which there are Christians and Muslims.

He said that he is not like his father, and that: "I guard the Muslims in all my realm, just our master guards the Christians in all his lands, so that we will be as one consultative body and hand, with envoys coming and going. What usually has happened at the dispatch of a Metropolitan, [sending] castrated boys (*khuddām*) and young girls, gold and dresses (*aṣad*), those would arrive with my envoy."

He requested sending that in the company of his envoy Yūsuf, who was delayed on account of the Syrian (*Suryān*) Metropolitan, "who destroyed the lands during the time of my father."

He was among the enemies of the Muslims, and it became known that you would require this Metropolitan in the company of the Sultan's envoy and my envoy. I am expecting the Sultan's response with that which will set the Muslims and the Christians aright, even setting the Ethiopian lands aright.

The Sultan should not say, "The usual fees incumbent upon requesting a Metropolitan have not come to me," as when he arrives in the company of the Sultan's envoy and my envoys, I will do what the Sultan desires, and what is enjoined upon the Patriarch (*bitrik*).

In the letter's fold, there was a sheet containing: I have sent the letter which the Sultan sent [171] to my father. The letter was in the script of this servant (*mamluk*), the composer of the *Noble Life of al-Malik al-Zāhir*.<sup>281</sup> Its date was the beginning of Rabī' al-Ākhir, the year 673 [October 4, 1274], his honorifics,

<sup>279</sup> Probably Yagba Seyon (1285–94), whose given name was indeed Solomon.

<sup>280</sup> Note the reference by Marco Polo, *The Most Noble and Famous Travels of Marco Polo* (ed. John Frampton, New York: Amsterdam, 1971), p. 147; also trans. Marsden, *Travels of Marco Polo* (Beijing: Foreign Language, 2009), pp. 252–3 to this event, which he dates to 1288.

<sup>281</sup> An oblique reference to Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir himself. Yekunno Amlak ruled 1270–85.

correspondence arrived in the presence of the glorious, gallant, just king in the realm of *hattā* [Hadya],<sup>282</sup> [Yekunno] Amlak,<sup>283</sup> greatest of the Ethiopian kings, ruler over the lands belonging to them, *negūs* (king). His epoch is the Sword of the Christian (*masīḥiyya*) Faith, the strong-arm of the Christian (*naṣrāniyya*), friend of kings and sultans, and it contained:

Your letter contained a request for a metropolitan, but no envoy on your part was present for the selection process, because your letter contained the stipulation that the requested Metropolitan would not love gold or silver. Whoever has this description would not be chosen in the presence of your envoy.

The letter of the Sultan al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, the ruler of Yemen, mentioned that the king's letter reached him in the company of a traveler, seeking the Metropolitan. He stayed with him until the answer came. The answer has already been sent, and a paper arrived in the name of Ṣāliḥ b. Yāsīn b. `Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sharīf, the nephew of the envoy who arrived from the Ethiopians.

He said he was [172] in Mecca, and came to `Aydḥāb, then found his uncle had arrived as an envoy from the Ethiopians, but that he had died in `Aydḥāb. He complained about the official in charge of the charity tax (*zakāt*) in `Aydḥāb, `Umar b. al-Fākīhānī.

A companion of the deceased arrived, and the original envoy, who was Ethiopian of ethnicity, and a letter arrived in the Arabic script from Dā`ūd b. al-`Izzā the Christian, minister (*wazīr*) to the king, which contained:

He had sent as a gift a castrated boy, but apologized and complained concerning the Syrian (*suryānī*) Metropolitan,<sup>284</sup> saying, "the written Metropolitan command will take him away, if God wills."

### Arabic translation of the letter and the Ethiopian response

To the Patriarch, whose name in Ethiopian is Yakabāsyūn, and in Arabic Sulaymān, to the Patriarch in Egypt, containing: Implore the Patriarch, the Patriarch of Alexandria, Abu Yuḥannis, and we give him the peace greeting that was given to Mark.<sup>285</sup>

<sup>282</sup> Tadesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia 1270–1527* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 106, 135–7.

<sup>283</sup> Reconstructed from a partial reading. The *alif* and *mim* are visible, the last three letters misread.

<sup>284</sup> Tamrat, p. 70 notes that no evidence of Syrian Metropolitans has yet come to light.

<sup>285</sup> Col. 4:10, but also referring to the fact that Mark was the founder of the church in Alexandria.

I warn against them being slow in [coming] to you.<sup>286</sup> Hear my words, fulfill my need, and send to me a Metropolitan, a good righteous bishop, who will teach me of everything that is good.

It will be as what David, upon whom peace, spoke as a proverb in the Psalms with regard to us. He said, “Send good men from the Copts of Egypt who will be present in the Ethiopian lands, teaching you worship and asceticism.”<sup>287</sup>

He said at the end of his admonition, “Son, do not leave your lamb, lest the wolf eat it,”<sup>288</sup> and those [173] are the Syrian Metropolitans. Those who are not from Egypt we hate them, and do not come near to them. Because of our love for the Patriarchs of Egypt, we do not leave them as bishops with us, and expel them.

None but our father (= *abuna*) sit with us, because there have been none from you. Now, do not destroy your city, but send to us a Metropolitan so that the Lord [Jesus] Christ can thank you.

Remember Mark, “Do not leave us in our sin,” as you alone are able to send to us a Metropolitan, so send him. If you cannot, then with the written command of our master the Sultan. After that, whenever you wish we will send him to you. Do not leave those Syrians in our lands. We will cause them to leave if you say, “Expel them!”

If you say, “Leave them be,” we will leave them. You have denied us because of them, so forgive us this fault, so that no sin will remain upon us. Forgive all who are with us, and let your blessing be upon us in life and death.

Additional words: Peace, O Maṣṣūr, hear O Sultan of Egypt, may God help you. Give the Patriarch permission (*dustur*) to send us a bishop, for they and we, our belief is one from the time of Mark until today. The written command and the honorary gift that is yours, we will give to you

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<sup>286</sup> The syntax is awkward.

<sup>287</sup> Probably based upon Ps. 68:31 “Envoys will come from Egypt; Cush [Ethiopia] will submit herself to God.” This verse already was used in an apocalyptic sense in Ps. Methodius, see G. Reinink, *Die Syrischen Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius* (Louvain: Peters, 1993), 540, p. 44 (original), 541, p. 73 (trans.); and later was utilized by the *Kebrā Negast* (trans. Budge, London: Oxford Press, 1932), sec. 95 in order to justify the claims of the Solomonic dynasty.

<sup>288</sup> Perhaps a paraphrase of Acts. 20:29.

if you send me a bishop. When you send him, I will examine him with regard to your written command, and whatever he says I will do it.

Another letter in Ethiopian from the Ethiopian ruler (*sulṭān*) to noble Jerusalem, to the tomb of Christ:

My Lord, peace upon you. O Ethiopian monks, who have patiently worshipped and denied themselves during these days. You have endured heat and cold.

I have sent to you a robe, with red brocade (*dībāj*), 100 candles, and my clothes, which are a sash (*zunnār*) that rulers (*salāṭīn*) would wear, so that you wear it during the time of the Eucharist (*qurbān*).

This is not for everyday use, but from festival to festival. None but priests should wear it, who are performing the Eucharist. So acknowledge me when this arrives, and write their names. Remember me in your formal and intercessory prayers. Receive what I have sent, since it is in a ruler's litter (*sarīr*), and do not forget me every day. [174]

### Mention of the Tunisian envoy from the west being present

A group of notables from the west was a delegation to the gates of our master the Sultan, such as [...].<sup>289</sup> When the news of their arrival reached the ruler of Tunis, who was the emir Abū Ḥafṣ, and the honor with which our master the Sultan had treated them, the celebration, the honorary gifts, benefits, inspections and domiciling, he feared the consequences of this.

He made haste to conciliate our master the Sultan, and sought his favor, seeking to weave affection and to win minds.

So he sent his envoy the Chief Judge, according to their terminology, the General Populace Judge (*qāḍī al-jamā'a*)<sup>290</sup>—in this way the Chief Judge is called among them—so he was present leading a large group, decked out impressively and pompously.

When he arrived in Egypt [Cairo], our master the Sultan sent a group of the senior emirs to welcome him to Egypt. He stayed in the Minister's House, and necessities were conveyed to him, every kindness in every matter. His arrival was on 9 Shawwāl [November 17, 1287] [175]

On Tuesday 11 Shawwāl [November 19, 1287] this messenger was summoned, so he was present, while with him were a noble gift of horses and their equipment—30 purebred horses with gold-fringed cloths on them. He also

<sup>289</sup> A blank in the text.

<sup>290</sup> *EP* s. v. *qāḍī*, under *qāḍī al-djamā'a* (E. Tyan); the term has its roots in Muslim Spain.

brought in excess of 80 camels, adorned in every way, as a gift from the West, among which were things of every type that were appropriate as kingly gifts.

The Sultan received his gift, and honored and showered him [with honorary gifts], writing out answers for him, and equipping him with everything that he wished. His correspondence was according to the westerners' norm in their correspondence, and he wrote his answer in a like manner. [176]

### **Mention of the commander `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar's being saved and well-treated**

On Thursday 6 Shawwāl [November 14, 1287] the mercy of our master the Sultan overflowed to release the emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī at a time when his family and people in general were unaware. No one knew anything about him other than he had been removed from the Cistern Gate (*bāb al-jubb*) and brought to the Sultan.

He descended for him from the kingly pulpit, and met him, apologizing to him. Then he left from his presence. Everything which compensated him for that which had gone [been taken] was conveyed to him, and in a short time everything that had been lost during that period returned to him, and his houses were reinhabited with every type of horse and goods, dinars and dirhams.

Our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf conveyed to him that which made his hopes grand and repaired his situation. An official proclamation (*manshūr*) was written for him of 100 *ṭawāsh* [horsemen], and our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf placed him within his intimates which placed him in his bureau (*dīwān*), giving him precedence. When the Sultan departed heading for Syria after a few days, he followed in his wake, in the greatest splendor, excess, magnificence, and beauty. [177]<sup>291</sup>

### **Mention of movement towards protected Syria**

The Franks' betrayal and injustice was confirmed by our lord the Sultan, including the slaughter and robbery of Muslims and their possessions that they had done in Acre, and what they had intended to do. Letters from deputies began to pour in from every direction of what they intended and had carried out. Letters from them [the Franks] arrived saying: "This matter was carried out by the Western Franks alone, and we have hung a number of

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<sup>291</sup> The text breaks off here, and does not contain the events of the last two years of Qalāwūn's life, but resumes with his death. Presumably Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir either was removed from his position, fell from favor (perhaps because of the ascendancy of al-Malik al-Ashraf after the premature death of his older brother), or retired due to illness (from which he died in 1292).

them.” They apologized with these apologies the like of which the Sultan had never received or heard from them.

He took revenge upon those who conveyed that [news] from them, and determined, trusting in his Lord [to fight]. The enemies heard of his plan for battle. He mustered all of the troops for the assigned departure date, and distributed among all the emirs an amount of wealth that cannot be counted because of its immensity or its charitable benefits.

He sent a large amount from the great armory factories (*zardkhānāt*) which never was the like of it produced at any time, or for any raid (*ghazwa*), and ordered it to be brought forth, so it was. An immense number of miners, as well as ironworking and woodworking engineers were commissioned, and funds were spent upon all of them.

He wrote to all of the Syrian lands to produce mangonels, war implements, provisions, and weaponry, to produce cattle from the lands for [carrying] the mangonels, and to produce men and foodstuffs from every land according to its ability.

The emir `Izz al-Dīn al-Afram, *amīr jāndār*, was sent to Damascus to carry this out, so he went quickly, the result was good, and put forth the most complete initiatives. He wrote to the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur al-Baktūtī to camp, him and the emirs dispatched with him, in [...].<sup>292</sup>

He prepared an army to the Ḥijāz for the pilgrimage to Mecca, and an army to raid against the pilgrimage of Mecca’s inhabitants, as well as many riders to the Ḥijāz, to carry food provisions to everyone in need, and riders to the people of the place [178] of war (*dār al-ḥarb*) to carry weaponry and war implements to every raider.

He prepared a flag for protected Mecca, increasing this then to two flags, and a flag to the Frankish lands. How many monks there were afraid of him,<sup>293</sup> because in this trial there were two pipelines (*qaṣṭalān*), so [the monks] asked for safe-conduct from the king of the safe-conduct [Qalāwūn]?

When he had prepared these circumstances, there was nothing to do but to set his foot in the stirrup, and ride from his citadel on [...]<sup>294</sup> Shawwāl [October 1290] when Aquarius was in the ascendant, and Mars was at its fullest. It was an awesome procession—never was the like of it seen in immensity, majesty and splendor.

Envoys of the kings attended it, and camped at the Victory Gate, the usual stopping-off point, and nothing remained but to travel. Fate says, “Where is the escape?”<sup>295</sup> when suddenly the hanging reins are yanked away. Hope says, “Pain has been removed.” Death says, “Where is the destination, when advancing has changed to falling behind?”

<sup>292</sup> A blank in the manuscript.

<sup>293</sup> A pun on the dual meanings of the verb *rahaba*.

<sup>294</sup> A blank in the manuscript.

<sup>295</sup> Q75:10.



This was because our master the Sultan had become overcome with a sickness he had resisted for some time, while he was more hale. But his pains only increased, so when all hope was gone, and his foreordained time had come, as his armies, troops, expeditions, levies, spears, swords, weapons, fortresses, horses, [places of] refuge, and cities could no longer protect him, and he was taken from amidst the plethora of his provisions and numbers alone.

By him the lion in his den was startled, and Islam by his support, so what a misfortune, the misfortune of lots, and an accident by which the creatures were startled, a loss by which the faces of the days were blackened. Were it not for the fact that God has encompassed the community [Muslims] with His grace (*lutf*), and caused a light that will not be put out to continue for them, which is his son the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Abū al-Faṭḥ Khalīl, who has undertaken this heavy burden—and God is Sufficient in arranging that, and what a marvelous Guardian!

This was when his father's sickness intensified, he was close to the matters and managed things, ordering the decisions, and deciding them, so that the post with incoming letters came to be read to him, and he answered them in the best manner. He descended each day from his castle to the camp to deal personally with all the matters, to make the circumstances of the masses right, and then to return at nightfall to his castle.

When his father gave up the ghost, may God be pleased with him, and met his Lord, he descended as usual, then stayed, and the mamluks of his father returned with him, which was on Saturday 6 Dhū al-Qa'da [689 = November 10, 1290]. [179]

When it was morning on Sunday, he called for the treasures, all the noble houses, and all of the people [Mamluks], and ascended into the castle. He had already ascended with his father secretly, washing [him], enwrapping, and praying over him. He made several of his places in the castle, and obtained the legal permission for marking the place of his burial, which would be met with gardens, and for which rooms would be prepared.

So weep for them [the rooms], suddenly, then silence. Patience is laid bare, and a community is punished which will not be rewarded in eternity. May God reckon the reward of this raid [upon Acre] of which everyone knew, in every land, every form of assistance, every polytheist and unbeliever, and every Manāf [idol] and contender for status (*munāfir*). God Most High said, "Whoever goes forth from his house, emigrating to God and His Messenger, (and) then death overtakes him—his reward falls on God (to pay)."<sup>296</sup>

There is no doubt that it has fallen upon God to pay his reward, his fate has been raised up to God, and he is together with the noble, whose memory they write. May God Most High have mercy upon this pure spirit, this precious soul, which has been transferred from the realm of this world to nothing other

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<sup>296</sup> Q4:100.

than the realm of the next. The houris (*al-ḥūr al-ʿīn*) of enclosed palaces [in heaven] will not greet him in the tents; is he not [just come] from the tents? People were only delayed in wishing him peace in his sickness because of “the angels coming in to him [=them] from every gate.”<sup>297</sup>

God granted him a distinction, that his noble spirit was taken in the year 689, when the spirit of the martyr Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was taken in the same way.<sup>298</sup> When he was [...] <sup>299</sup> which was the hour in which Riḍwān, the guardian of Paradise, was preparing it for him, and the houris were rushing around for their first eye-to-eye appearance. The announcer of the Qurʾān was faithful to his promise, as the prophetic traditions in the noble cupola state, “Come to me!”

The exegeses of the glorious Book state, “Come to my place, where no one speaks pointlessly, no word is wasted around Me,” and the noble tombstone states:

I am the place where the greatest light descends, the door to the houris’ palaces; at me the boundaries of the Blessed House’s (*al-bayt al-maʿmūr*) pools end.

Delegations of angels approached without haste in their most magnificent attire, and resplendent ornamentation, and the coffin (*tābūt*) came in which there was mercy and tranquility from God, while the earth was almost swaying back and forth, verily, tongues with God were only created and renewed for remembering [God], while the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb says: “Welcome, to my most noble neighbor, and well done! Be at ease (*ahlan saḥlan*) to the guest whose repast and addition [to heaven] God Himself has prepared, so he will not be in need of a permanent place other than a place for the glorious Book.” [180]

When he was placed where heart’s desire; if it had been the first fright of constructing this abyss, and every forehead had been made a cushion for that noble body laying such a sleep, and if the iron sheet were slid away from this pure hollow in which all good was gathered, and a well-spring for all mercy, and the heavens do not constitute a lofty roof for it, but the angels rejoice night and day in its ascent by virtue of righteous deeds, and its resting in the most noble valley [with] men praising God morning and late afternoons.

His noble tombstone said:

This is the prayer-niche of a king who for so long praised God who heard him. Death overtook him, when he had gone out from his house as an emigrant (*muhājir*) towards God and His Messenger, so let his wage fall

<sup>297</sup> Q13:23.

<sup>298</sup> 100 years previous to that date.

<sup>299</sup> A blank of about a line.

upon God, since it was lost in what he accomplished. This is one who left the ornament of this world, and only met God in the clothes of impoverished (Sufis). The proof of that is the tattered (Sufi) cloak (*muraqqa'*) which is on me to exhort the masses everyone who comes close, and everyone who is surprised by fate, everyone who conquers fortresses, cities and border forts.

Let every king and possessor of property declaim: "Is it not a fact that all affairs are returned to God?"<sup>300</sup> So let him prepare, may God be satisfied with him, a well-earned seat of truth, powerful, and let his son the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf, may God make him victorious, prepare the raids of his father, and his sacral warfare (*jihād*) to make him proud. By his charitable actions and his deep compassion for his father God has been forbearing of him, and forgiven him his sins.

Among the (poetic) arrangements the owned one (*mamlūk*) who collected this life<sup>301</sup> as a eulogy, to explain the situation as a description and as a congratulation to our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf, may God aid him:

*If the possessor of potency had shunned that which was predestined,  
Qalāwūn al-Manṣūr would have been protected,  
Refuges and fortresses protected him, as well as cities and border-fortresses,  
Every noble horse from his horsemen protected him; every [army] part  
when they saw him weary,  
Every gallant from his army protected him, every arrow from falling short  
on him,  
For every thousand in battle he leads a thousand; the neighbor and sojourner  
both say "Bravo!" about him,  
His sacrifice of his wealth is such that were it water it would be said these  
are oceans,  
Prostrating-places of villages visit him, who without him, their ruin would  
have been carried out,  
A ruling king compensating the army; the enemy says, "This is a mighty  
(blowing) wind!" [181]  
As a result of the battalions, he has an army that can overpower the ranks  
lined together,  
This and that did not protect him, but matters came one after another,  
After the reins were taken, and Acre said: I am your final destination,  
And guiding the armies of every easy and difficult (troops) equally to the  
lands,  
And he guided the mangonels in the hills, carried on necks like a pride of  
lions,*

<sup>300</sup> Q42:53.

<sup>301</sup> Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir.

*Pigeons having their nests in them have already cried out in sadness at the cutting of tender wood for him,  
 And iron calls for assistance from the blazing fire that grieves it, saying: I have no advocate,  
 My heart melts, I have nothing, after David, I have no place to go,  
 The fates say carefully with resolution and fortitude; I have no choice but ruin,  
 While there is nothing left but for the swords to erupt from their scabbards, it comes,  
 A kill for which mourners were sent, fearing the worst, their omen is caution,  
 Tents when you come early you see them as if they are tombs from grief and loss,  
 Neighing of the horses tells of its mourning, and the weepers go from house to house,  
 Saying: The hopes for raiding have been dashed! And the enemy is aware of it, cautious,  
 Consigning it as a resolute issue, from which one proceeds without delay,  
 Victory from which backs groan, beginnings from which the chests suffer,  
 How many hearts when sick say: Is there relief in it for our hopes?  
 Or did the earth not see that God Most High has caused it to swallow up creatures, while it was moving?  
 Every man wishes that a generous portion of his sickness would come to him,  
 His visitors have treated him roughly, saying: Woe, we have no way to him!  
 How, when he is in the gardens of his tents, and in the gardens of tents there is loss,  
 Going out in fear for him and of him, neither commander nor commanded looking with delight,  
 His sickness continues to increase, and his complaints proclaim that life is deception,  
 To him comes that which causes one to forget intelligence and percipience, from which the seeing become blind,  
 At his death, angels of mercy, clemency and acceptance attend him, [182]  
 Death came to him when the misfortunes of its assault and fear were seeking refuge,  
 And the fates said: Where is the one who is compelled, when time destroys?  
 Where is the one whose justice uncovered injustice and from him the dark night is lighted?  
 Where is the one who dispersed the Tatars at Ḥimṣ, and to the present day their army is crushed?  
 Marqab humbled itself to him, and to his rule; tangled for camels, with high rocks,  
 He who humbled unbelief in Tripoli by his glory and felicity of victory,*

*After he had camped beside the seas, cutting them off, smiting it with the sword,*  
*Towering over other kings, but pointing to him from among them all,*  
*The hand of felicity passed judgment upon it, and destruction from trial came to it,*  
*Handing over those in it—listen to their death-throes as their blood spurts forth,*  
*Angels of disdain preceded them to the sea, saying: From here you will not pass!*  
*Showing them the fire of hell and amazing that in the water they would encounter hell!<sup>302</sup>*  
*God decreed all of that for a king whose wage was treasured in the scrolls,*  
*So he proceeded, having in warfare, raiding and conquest a record for which to be grateful,*  
*Was the earth not darkened to lose him, so how many eagles there are in his descendants!*  
*Malik Ashraf Ṣalāh al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, there is much good in him,*  
*Most noble of the people in conduct, and his gifts cry out to me: Where is the poor?*  
*Giver of thousands in wealth and horses—even seeing that as falling short,*  
*When a counselor comes back to you from him, he has already overtopped the counselor!*

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<sup>302</sup> Several themes in these lines relating to Q87:11–12.

## Text 1 (b)

*AL-ALṬĀF AL-KHAFIYYA  
MIN AL-SĪRA AL-SHARĪFA  
AL-SULTĀNIYYA AL-MALIKIYYA  
AL-ASHRAFIYYA*

THE SECRET GRACES FROM THE  
NOBLE SULTANIC WAY OF  
AL-MALIK AL-ASHRAF

Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir

*As with text no. 1 (a), text 1 (b) is a partial text, starting rather abruptly and concluding just as abruptly. It consists of a series of vignettes of al-Ashraf's life, but does not include his major achievement, which was the conquest of Acre from the Crusaders on May 18, 1291. Most probably, five to six pages are missing from the beginning, assuming that there was coverage of the initial ten months of al-Ashraf's reign originally. For example, the poem by Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir cited in text 3 (penultimate) in praise of al-Ashraf's conquest of Acre seems to be a candidate for inclusion in a text such as this. As the poem seems to have been composed immediately after the fall of Acre, it is possible to assume that Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir was, in fact, active during this period. Probably it was composed during the summer of 1291, perhaps for the Sultan's arrival returning to Cairo on August 7, 1291.*

*It is possible, however, that this text is complete as is, did not include the siege of Acre, and that the poem was simply separate, never having been meant to be included in this panegyric. If this were the case, perhaps Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir was still assembling the text when he passed, or suddenly became*

*too ill to write any further. No one seems to have cleaned it up afterwards, as al-Ashraf turned out to be a short-lived ruler. Thus, while the lacuna are unfortunate, we can be confident that the text is an eyewitness account. Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir died in fall 1292, so he did not live to see al-Ashraf's murder on December 23, 1293.*

*Much of the initial text consists of the caliph's sermons, of which the first dated is to October 24, 1291. There is a great deal of unusual information in this text, but only the sections dealing with major events have been translated. From the contents one would assume that Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir was not particularly close to the center of events during this period, and perhaps was out of favor with al-Ashraf. The last datable events are from spring 1292.*

### Text

*The first 15 pages are transcriptions of the caliph's Friday sermons.*

#### **Mention of new matters with regard to the [Seljuq] Rūm, and the presence of his traveling emirs and senior commanders in hearing and obedience**

When it was Shawwāl of that year [October 1291] travelers arrived from the emir Fakhr al-Dīn b. Qaramān,<sup>1</sup> the emir Sayf al-Dīn Ibn Ashraf,<sup>2</sup> and from the sons of the ruler Fakhr al-Dīn `Alī, the minister to the Rūm, from the supreme emir `Izz al-Dīn Bek, from the emir Muḥammad Beg son of al-Barwānāh (*pervane*),<sup>3</sup> from the emirs of Khawāja Yūnis' sons, from the emir Shams al-Dīn b. al-Ḥamīd, from the emir Mubāriz al-Dīn Umūr Bek b. `Alī Shīr, from the emir Falak al-Dīn b. Mantashā,<sup>4</sup> from the emir Mubāriz al-Dīn Qut`alī Qalāwūn, from the emir Muḥammad Bek, ruler of Banūkī,<sup>5</sup> from the emir Mubāriz al-Dīn Umūr Beg, ruler of Kardhyābūk,<sup>6</sup> from the emir Nūr al-Dīn Ibn Jājā's sons, from the emir Bahā' al-Dīn Būlādh Beg, from the emir Yakhshī Beg b. Qaramān,<sup>7</sup> brother of the emir Fakhr al-Dīn, from

<sup>1</sup> Presumably Güneri Beg (mentioned in text 1 (a)), whose honoric was probably Fakhr al-Dīn (unknown from other sources), as mentioned in Baybars, text 4 (a).

<sup>2</sup> Presumably Sayf al-Dīn Sulaymān, ruler of the Ashrafid state in central Turkey until 702/1302.

<sup>3</sup> Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Mu`īn al-Dīn, who ruled a territory north of the Seljuqs on the Black Sea.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably Mas`ūd b. Menteshē Beg, whose honorific is not otherwise known; this family ruled the region of south central Anatolian coast

<sup>5</sup> The Aydin state on the western coast of Anatolia was ruled by Muḥammad Beg; Banūkī is probably to be identified with present-day Finike (close to Antalya).

<sup>6</sup> Probably to be identified with Kara Öyük = Karahüyük.

<sup>7</sup> Later ruler of the Qaramanid state 699–707/1300–7.



the emir Sahm al-Dīn Riḍwān, from the emir Tāj al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, [16] from the emir Shāwar Beg b. Kūbak, and from the emir Khalīl b. Bahādur.<sup>8</sup>

Correspondence arrived from them were in non-Arabic [letters], containing a rush to obedience, and presenting themselves to the sultanic noble service, entering into its favor and following its prescripts, sacrificing themselves in everything our master the Sultan would command. They all offered oaths to this effect, and became unified against the enemies of God, upon sacral fighting (*jihād*) in His path, and that they would go wherever they were ordered (by the Sultan).

They had nothing that would obstruct them, and the lands belonged to our master the Sultan; all of them were in his grasp. Their rule and families were under his command, and they asked for noble proclamations (*manāshūr*) by which they could be honored, and be blessed by their miracles (*karāmāt*), so they could transfer their command to it, and seek to conquer the lands with its aid.

They kissed the ground before him, so they were counted as the soldiers of God,<sup>9</sup> who were in the service of our master the Sultan, ascribed to it, and became part of them, having the rights they had, and the responsibilities of obedience and following orders that they had. They would take shares in the booty with the victorious armies in everything that fell into their hands.

As one they departed, with their scouts, accompanied by gifts of purebred horses, and other things, and they presented themselves before our master the Sultan, who honored them, and valued them. They received their gifts and presents, and he promised them to obtain anything that they asked for, and the both sides made a sword promise (*wa`dā suyūfiyya*), and so they began their service in achieving everything that they attempted, and illuminating what they sought. [17]

[A section dealing with the anniversary of Qalāwūn's death, and the ceremonies that occurred.]

### **Mention of the obedience of the emir Najm al-Dīn Abi Numay together with his achieving the noble sultanic favor**

We have mentioned the proceeding of the Hījāzī caravan [for the pilgrimage] and the noble sending of the emir *al-sayyid* `Izz al-Dīn Jammāz, the emir of the noble prophetic Medina,<sup>10</sup> may the prayers and peace of God be upon its inhabitants, what happened to them upon their arrival, how they were given

<sup>8</sup> Although not all the figures listed here can be identified, this appears to be a cross-section of the Turkish nobility of Anatolia.

<sup>9</sup> Probably reference to Q37:173.

<sup>10</sup> `Izz al-Dīn Jammāz b. Shīḥa; on this incident from the Medinan point of view, Ibn Fahd, *Ghayat al-marām bi-akhbār sulṭanat al-balaad al-ḥaram* (ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt, Mecca: Jāmi`at Umm al-Qurā, 1988), ii, pp. 17–8 (according to which Qalāwūn sent troops to aid him).

great bounty, and which emirs and armies proceeded during this year accompanying the caravan.

The noble emir *al-sayyid* Najm al-Dīn Abū Numay, the emir of Mecca, may God ennoble it, when he perceived the noble discourse of the emir `Izz al-Dīn Jammāz, and that he was at the sultan's gates, having the immigrants treated well, and being accorded a lengthy stay, feared an attack, and that he would come at him with what [forces] he would be unable to repel, then he was able to dictate his end, so he sent the jurist Sharaf al-Dīn son of the Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī,<sup>11</sup> as an envoy, accompanied by the two fast riders (*al-najjābayn*).

They arrived, used go-betweens, sought intercession, and schemed, until finally they were presented before our master the Sultan, and asked that he would send his clemency, forgiveness and forbearance (*ḥilm*) to him. [21] A letter from the noble Abū Numay was produced, with contents that were abasement, humility, lowliness, seeking of clemency, and reminding of his genealogical relationship to the Messenger of God, and the others of the prophetic descent from his family, wives, children, and progeny. Other than the one who believes in Capricorn—will he reckon? And will he be close in his relationship to the Prophet, may God pray for him, then state that relationship?

So he wrote this letter to him in answer: his faults have been counted, and what he has done, how what he knew crushed him, and that the barren deserts would never protect him, nor would friends and helpers (*anṣār*). The jurist Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī was sent to him post-haste, while the caravan was preparing, probably still catching its horses, and then he arrived after 18 days.

He found him in his dwelling with a bilious stomach. This was on Friday night 10 Shawwāl [presumably October 6, 1291], then gave him to understand the picture, informing him of the situation, the future and its likely result.

It was not long before he gathered his clan, children and immediate family, all of his commanders, and rode immediately, being present at Mecca, may God ennoble it. He entered with all of his people of loosening and binding,<sup>12</sup> those champions, his relatives who had taken refuge with him, his tribe who believed as he did, and found his actions to be acceptable, and was present under the pulpit.

The preacher ascended on Friday 10 Shawwāl, and then gave a sermon, mentioning our master the Sultan specifically, and asking for God's mercy upon the martyred Sultan [Qalāwūn]. [The Well of] Zamzam was called upon,

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<sup>11</sup> Son of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Shātibī, known as Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī, d. 686/1287, al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xxxi, p. 100; the family appears to have had a considerable history in Mecca in spite of its Spanish origins.

<sup>12</sup> See Crone, above, "electors."

but it did not flow [22] for him as it usually did, to this place in which he sat for this session, he, his sons, and relatives.

He only did this as a formal session (*khidma*), mentioning our master the Sultan, may God immortalize his dominion, in prayer. The judge of noble Mecca, the jurists, the religious leadership (*'ulamā'*), Qur'anic reciters, righteous people, and indigents all attended, and an official record was written of this picture of what had occurred. Signatures of everyone were taken, and the mint struck with the noble sultan name.

Then the jurist Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī returned back the way he had come, traveling hastily, then arriving on 13 Dhū al-Qa'da [November 7, 1291], so that he ran into the noble [pilgrimage] caravan. He brought with him an explanation from the emir Badr al-Dīn Baktūt<sup>13</sup> al-'Alā'ī, the emir of the caravan, in this regard, so he took out the noble order upon which he relied.

The jurist Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī then was presented before our master the Sultan, and the explanation of the noble emir Najm al-Dīn Abū Numay was brought, together with the official record, and these letters were brought to the senior emirs, to the deputy Sultan, the minister Shams al-Dīn [Ibn Sal'ūs], asking for intercession and to be go-between for our master the Sultan's favor, and trying to justify all the faults ascribed to him.

He would send his sons, and gifts, and come personally, obediently, hastily, hearing and humble, contrite, so our master the Sultan acted with forgiveness, clemency, forbearance, and compassion as usual, and forgot [23] the slips and acts of rebellion, with the conviction that there would be obedience in the future.

He wrote to the emir of the caravan, and to the emirs dispatched with him, that the contrition of the noble emir Najm al-Dīn Abū Numay had been accepted, that his go-between had been received with forbearance, and that he would act in accord with what was obligatory—not moving what was stationary, nor be in secret, but be open.

The fast riders (*najjābūn*) were sent hastily lest some incident occur, and the jurist Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī, as his haste had been successful and everything for which he had come had been accomplished. The orders for the noble Abū Numay were written for the *iqṭā'* fiefs and taxes (*rusūm*) he had in the Egyptian homelands and other places, so they were released. It was ordered that all the wealth, payments, robes of honor, taxes, candles and incense that would usually be transported from the direction of Yemen to Mecca, may God ennoble it, be resumed.

[*The Sultan goes to Alexandria and then departs on a hunting trip.*]

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<sup>13</sup> Correcting from the text Baktut.

**Mention of his giving ownership of al-Subayba castle to the emir Badr al-Dīn Baydara al-Ashrafī, the noble Sultanic deputy**

As our master the Sultan, may God immortalize his sultanate, had been given by God the natural disposition of noble qualities, high-born nature, and blue blood—combining all of these together which were never combined in other kings, even with regard to the realms, the cities, fortresses, and castles.

Even in giving ownership, his munificence was glorious in bestowing *iqṭā`* fiefs. Since generosity was a natural characteristic, this made him generous by nature, as all things follow generosity naturally. Could a stubborn one actually say that he was generous, but not forbearing, compassionate, or that he was not courageous? Or he was not prudent, or alert? Or that he was not attentive, or deliberate in speech?

In all of this there is consensus. Or that he is not just, that he is not elevated, [30] or that his opinions are not complete. All of this, about him and proceeding from him, praise be to God, has been established, well-known and passed-along. Is he not a true worshipper? Or is he not in need of demonstrating affection to his friends? Or is he not demonstrating kindnesses personally to his interests? Or is he not possessed of burning sagacity? Is he not exceptional in perception?

*Praise be to the One who gathered all into one, while al-Ashraf is sultan,  
that very one,  
Through him his singularity is specified uniquely, which no one can deny,  
So God will cause him to continue in dominion, as other than him, he has  
no aider and abettor,  
Continuing him for the Muslims, for he is together with the awesome king,  
the father,  
Nurturing through his generosity the nobles' generosity—is there the like of  
him elsewhere in creation?*

His good recompense, his noble giving, specifying his supporters (*awlīyā`*), specifically the great emir Badr al-Dīn Baydarā, deputy of the noble sultanate, with a grant that will continue forever, continuing for successive generations, as he is the center of the intimate ring of supporters. He has religion, good, (enjoining) good, piety together with sufficiency to be specified. The noble written command has gone forth to take possession of protected al-Ṣubayba castle, and that which is with it, according to what is delineated in the noble investiture.

[A reproduction of the *iqṭā`* proclamation to Baydara.]

**Mention of the would-be king of Nubia's gifts that were accompanied by his brother named al-Barsī, and Jurays, the deputy in the lands of horses<sup>14</sup>**

When it was Šafar of this year [February 1292] the king comprehended—that is the would-be king of Dongola and the Nubian lands—that he had been remiss in allowing the *baqt* tribute,<sup>15</sup> which had been agreed upon with the kings of those lands, to be late because of their destruction.

This complete devastation was because of the Islamic armies' entering into them time after time, so the king Ādur used the lord of al-Abwāb as a reason, as he had added to the devastation, the exile, the blackness and the corruption. However, this excuse was not accepted from him, so envoys were sent to him in warning. He had a fear that paralyzed him, and a fright that incapacitated him, so our master the Sultan sent him a number safe-conduct to remove [40] his apprehension, and to hold out hope for him.

He took care of his mother, sisters, paternal aunt and wife who were dwelling as hostages in the noble gates in the Guest House, so stipends were assigned for them, and generous gifts. When this reached him he sent his brother named al-Barsī and his highness, the knight of the state, Jurays the Nubian, who had been accorded the rank of deputy of horses in all the lands, and other areas.

He sent an explanation, of which the content was seeking the (sultan's) mercies, and showers of clemency, receiving the excuse, and trying to connect to the noble favor. He said that the Nubian kings were all dominated by women, and asked for the release of his mother to him, so that she could administer [the kingdom], her and those with her.

Most of his complaints were about the king of al-Abwāb, that he would like to come and gather large numbers of wild animals, to present them all as gifts. However, the would-be king of al-Abwāb would raid and seize them, killing whoever was with them. He said that the would-be king of al-Abwāb may very well come to the sultanic gates, and asked that no one listen to his words about him.

He sent gifts, which were: slaves, 200 “head”; camels and female camels, 200; dates, 200 *ardabbs* [396 lit.]; alum (*shabb*), 120 *qinṭārs* [5300 kgs.]; whetstones (*sunabādiḡ*), 1500 *raṭls* [135 kgs.]; [41] cheetahs and lions (*hizabr*), four, in addition to other things that are usual.

When the king's brother and Jurays arrived, the gifts were received, and they were given accommodation, and honored.

<sup>14</sup> Compare trans. in Vantini, *Oriental Sources*, pp. 430–3.

<sup>15</sup> The annual tribute from the kingdom of Nubia established during early Islamic times.

*Black and red obey you, so the dominion blossoms because of you, even  
 flowers,  
 Dispensing of Time is in your power; what you forbid and command are  
 obeyed,  
 The Nubians fear that another troop will be mustered against them  
 by you,  
 Their faces were not blackened when they wandered, but were turned white  
 by that which they brought,  
 Every time the black eye raises to gaze, there are boats filled,  
 The night's blackness tells of security from you, as its light outshines the  
 full moon,  
 How many chestnut-colored half-breeds they sent, like arrows, or like light-  
 ning when it vibrates,  
 Every understanding breaks forever, daring to gaze on the viper's eye,  
 The full moon dripped its lights as showered dirhams from above him,  
 O best of kings in piety, your continue to render victory to Islam by your  
 sword,  
 Every ethnicity obeys, civilization takes refuge in your perspicacity, and  
 even it is gathered (together).*

[Another description of al-Ashraf's administration follows.]

### Mention of the Venetians' envoys being present

A group of Muslims had been taken by the Venetians on the sea, so when this reached our master the Sultan, he arrested a group of Venetians [45] on behalf of those Muslims taken. *T-n-q-ū-l-ā* and the envoy of the Doge of Venice presented themselves as envoys to the sublime sultanic gates.<sup>16</sup>

At his arrival in Alexandria he stayed in it until the noble riders turned to al-Luyūna.<sup>17</sup> He presented himself in front of the noble sultanic stations, proffering many gifts and valuable objects.

Then that envoy asked to enter Cairo; he was brought in, and asked of the sublime sultanic gates that those Venetian merchants detained in Cairo be freed. He would set the sum of 70,000 dirhams as surety for the Muslim merchants taken by the Venetians at sea, and that was granted him.

<sup>16</sup> *T-n-q-ū-l-ā* should probably be volcalized as D'Nicolo/D'Nicola (thanks to Prof. Georg Christ, com. May 28, 2018 for confirming this), however, there is no name attested like this for this period. Perhaps by rereading it could be vocalized as Tiepolo, in which case the doge Lorenzo Tiepolo's [d. 1275] son, Nicolas Tiepolo, could fit. The Doge at this period was Pietro Gradenigo (1289–1311).

<sup>17</sup> See al-Maqrīzī, *Khitāt*, iii, p. 9, iv, p. 873 for this location.

He went to Alexandria, and the Venetian merchants imprisoned in Cairo were freed, and went with him to stay in Alexandria in return for a sum of 70,000 dirhams for the Muslim merchants.

He and the Venetian merchants were allowed to travel to their land, and a noble safe-conduct was proclaimed for the Venetians, Provençals (? *bayāzina*),<sup>18</sup> Genoese, Pisans (*bīshānī*),<sup>19</sup> Catalans, and others to pass the Islamic borders in safety and tranquility.

### Mention of all the new events in the land of the enemy

Every day there was a battle for that army, bringing its news to Baghdad or Aleppo. For that the scouting party went to the east, and they pushed [46] on to a place known as al-Bi'r al-Ṭayyib, close to Rā's al-'Ayn.<sup>20</sup>

The enemy had concealed themselves, so when the scouting party crossed, they attacked the concealed enemy there. They retreated as one, and returned safely to protected Aleppo.

From that the enemy was weakened. They had promised each other that their senior commander would camp at Baghdad, where they would enjoy the White Festival.<sup>21</sup> This festival is one they usually celebrated by gathering the commanders of 1000s and 100s, and taking horses, sheep and drink, by which they served the commander, feeding him and having him drink.

The occasion of this festival had passed, but they were not present, while the reports multiplied that those investigating had no news. From that, Ghazan [grand-] son of Abagha had pressed in upon the dwellings of Sakiz, and Sakiz, the most senior of the people's leaders, had been killed, with others, and their women and children taken.

Bitmish was very sick, and as a result Qaidu revolted against Ghazan, and defeated him utterly.<sup>22</sup> This defeat occurred between Khazan and Khurāsān. After that the emir Nāṣir al-Dīn Yashlush (?) son of the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn al-'Ayntābī, one of the commanders of the freeborn troops (*halqa*) in protected Aleppo, and those he sent with him for reconnaissance, returned safely.

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<sup>18</sup> Difficult; perhaps by radical repointing one could read Narbonne; however it is not clear that the Narbonnese ever were prominent in the Egypt trade.

<sup>19</sup> Probably including Florentines: Ignazio del Punta, *Guerrieri, Crociati, Mercanti: I Toscani in Levante in età pieno-medievale* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano de Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2010), chap. 7.

<sup>20</sup> In northern Syria, today on the Turkish border.

<sup>21</sup> The Mongol new year, called Tsagaan sar.

<sup>22</sup> Jackson, *Mongols*, p. 197 has a number of attacks by Qaidu upon Khurāsān during this period.



They appraised that they continued leading (*sāqa*) into the enemy's land until they arrived at Tel al-Rammād by night, at the gate of Rā's al-'Ayn, and saw the enemy's fire. [47] The horses whinnied at each other, so the defeated ones sensed them, so mounted and fired arrows (*nushshāb*) at them.

Terror, fear and panic happened among the enemy, so the previously mentioned emir Nāṣir al-Dīn returned, because he was not sent to fight. He mentioned that the rulers in the land now were Bitmish, Quṭlūbughā, Rajawu, 'Arti, Qānāl, Sārmūt, Darkār and Ṭughājār—each one of them a commander over 1000 horse, while Bitmish was the overall commander.

Among the noble interests and commands was the transportation of man-gonels to the citadel of Aleppo, setting them up, and firing upon them. All of them were set up, and using for firing. After that they were protected, and stored safely in their places. Interest continued in doing this, according to this picture, and for that reason chains were prepared for the bridges, and skiffs (*zawāriq*) were constructed for the bridges.

Reports arrived about the preparation of the emir Jamāl al-Dīn Hājā (?) and the emir Sayf al-Dīn Baktimur al-Jalamī for raiding, and that they arrived at the dwellings of Qazan (?), commander of 100 horse, near Malaṭiyya, robbing his dwellings.

Reports arrived that Ibn Qarmān met a number of the defeated [Mongols] [in battle], and when the emir Jamāl al-Dīn Hājā, Sayf al-Dīn his companion, and those with them arrived from the raid, 33 mamluks from the Mongols were present, with 46 “head” of the high-class horses. There was also a senior Mongol [commander] among their number, named Tanghasāh son of Kal (?), and his brother Ṭaghīd (?), among the horde of Ibn Bahaw (?) [48]

*Every day there is victory and “a victory near (at hand)”<sup>23</sup>; raids go forth while others return,  
Prisoners are led from the land of unbelief, horses led, and plunder,  
Revenge (tha'r) being exacted upon the enemies during the night, quickly, reaching the target.*

Truly, another said:

*God's victory processions proceeding wherever, while felicity marches in tandem with them,  
Conquests, one following another, just as pearls arranged on round-breasted girls' necks,  
When the army remaining sets out apart, it is met by an army with booty returning.*

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<sup>23</sup> Q61:13.

### Mention of matters connected with the ruler of Sīs

Then he turned to the Tatars, so when it was that time, he was present in his land, together with Muslim prisoners. Some he set free, others were dispersed around in his citadels. His envoys Levon and Manjal went to the noble gates. From Sīs there were in total fiefs of 100,000 new dirhams. In horses and mules, there were 58 “head,” as a gift there were of 10 head of those.

### Mention of the presence of a delegation from al-Raḥba and other places

An emir, commander of 10, whose name was Yakbash (?) son of Qadūdak, arrived in the period of 20 years, whose name was Muḥammad. A horde of [49] those who were with him presented themselves after him, who were 33.

His brother Muḥammad and Qarābughā son of Shams al-Dīn al-Mughulī, his brother Yūsuf, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ayad Ghamish al-Mughulī, their wives, children and youths (*ghilmān*) arrived.

Another group arrived from Konya to Aleppo, from the ruler of Rūm, ‘Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Khaṭāy, their wives and servants, Bahā’ al-Dīn ‘Umar son of Nāṣir al-Dīn, Niẓām al-Dīn ‘Alī son of Ḥusayn, ‘Alī son of Aydimur al-Kurjī (Georgian).

This emir Muḥammad mentioned that he was traveling from a large horse, affirming their having been presented at the noble sultanic gates. They were awaiting Muḥammad’s letter from us with a safe-conduct, and the best rendezvous points.

It also contained reports that the hinterland of Baghdad had not been sown during this year, and that in it a *karr* (six donkey-loads) went for 30 dinars, and that it rose to 56 dinars. Bread weighing 12 *ratls* [5.2 kg] was going for a dinar, but then this reverted back to 8 *ratls*.

He mentioned that the Baghdad treasury’s revenues were 800,000 dinars and 64,000 gold and silver dinars, and that double that was spent. People were robbed at the Baghdad gates.

### Mention of the Ḥijāz caravan

[A description of the pilgrimage caravan, which was accompanied by emir Badr al-Dīn Baktūt al-‘Alā’ī, with some antics by Abū Numay, the emir of Mecca, that were once again resolved by the intercession of Ibn al-Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn b. al-Qaṣṭallānī. Most of the section is in praise of al-Ashraf for securing the pilgrimage route.]

Declaiming to the riders at their coming and going in front of the riders:

*O possessor, may my Lord lengthen his life, you have a pilgrimage and an ‘umra (off-season pilgrimage) every year,*

*On the path you have eased for the creatures, and a path in security you  
 have leveled its unevenness,  
 How many howdahs have been guided, moving forward as if they were  
 thrones? [53]  
 They tell the stars and the Milky Way from the earth and the waste speaks  
 of them,  
 How many mornings of those night-travelers have praised him, when suc-  
 cess of security rose with its dawn,  
 Then Syria and Egypt's caravans met, each caravan having tightened its  
 waistband to defend you,  
 They perceived the greatness of your doing in security and safety in every  
 desert waste,  
 How much through you did God lessen the prices, ease provision and make  
 water abundant for the crowd,  
 How many high and low-born, penitent and humble, have sought clemency  
 in his glance?  
 In safety they made the pilgrimage; thousands from the west were pilgrims  
 aspiring to its refuge,  
 All of them obedient to your command, both in fear and hope, from both  
 vengeance and piety,  
 Everyone on the earth in awe of the greatness of your dominion, asking for  
 his Syria and Egypt,  
 Then asking for Baghdad, [Seljuq] Rūm, Tabrīz, the uppermost land, and  
 land of stability,  
 Conquests in every border region from unbelief, and asking for every border  
 and aperture,  
 How many prayed in his name, and said Khalīl, may God renew his victories  
 in all the regions!  
 May God make his dominion eternal, may God Most High open his breast<sup>24</sup>  
 with victory and conquest!  
 May God fulfill His promise with conquests, and raise the mention of Him  
 east and west!  
 May God make everything difficult easy, and cause his rule to penetrate the  
 regions!  
 May God thank his energetic pursuit of sacral fighting (jihād), and provi-  
 sion him throughout creation!  
 Not one of them received prayer even once for this; say pray for him 1000 times!  
 Congratulate him, congratulate him, hastily in his rewards, may God  
 increase his wage!  
 [A laudatory description of al-Ashraf in the justice court follows.]<sup>25</sup>*

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Q39:22.

<sup>25</sup> On this, see Jørgen Nielsen, *Secular Justice in an Islamic State: Maẓālim under the Bahrī Mamlūks* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1985), pp. 37, 103.

### Mention of the interest in the boats' affairs at al-Manṣūra and exercising them

Galleys (*shawānī*) were the army of the high (clamorous) seas, and its troops were those who would undertake sacral fighting (*jihād*) against the unbelievers in accord with what is obligatory. Fleets from which the seas parted to the east, and horses crammed the paths, having control of the winds that the Solomonic army had.

Their departure was for a month, [57] and their return a month,<sup>26</sup> when its backs' rider (sailor) would seek rest. Fleets, having stories unlike any other, marauding driving forward upon the swollen waves. They are nothing but God's arrows against aggression, whether that is concealed and without mail (*hāsir*), it precedes the dry land for news.

When the Franks intend corruption in the land with their galleys that are one of the most insolent, this is received by the Islamic galleys in the same way, and reciprocally to the corruptor. That one causing corruption gets the same is one of the fundamental principles. You will see them like birds hovering; their nests being the islands and their coastlands.

The galleys of Manṣūra continue to be fore walls in front of the border ports. Every time the enemy kindles the flame of war, they extinguish it with their own flame.<sup>27</sup> They always remind one of a blue eye in the sea, with its eyelash altered by oars; every time lightning spreads, its heavens appear in the swells, the thunder in its waves, and the clouds in its sails.

They are dark green in color, clamorous in their soaking, so when you seek its enemies look for the speckled snake, by which each sail tells one from the other; what is below cowers and waits in ambush under it. How many a crouching lion takes shelter, and lions cower! How many of those women with anklets and horses with white legs have arrayed themselves—when it is said how the wars have become fierce, then how many wars rested upon a leg for the wind?

No craft is referred to as “the craft of development” other than galleys, as they are among the dominion's secrets, and it is necessary for secrets to be deposited, guarded from being publicized. Because the new developments [58] in the sea are like flags. How many embrace its mast as a shipyard? It is as if they are like *alif* and *lam*—how many masts have sails wrapped around them like a *sijill* [register] for a letter!

How much the sun desires to separate its ropes from the other just as the sun breaks ropes apart, and how many with unfurled flag have sought to cut off a city, when the guard falls upon a ship, bringing it and what is in it, as a sign of his dominion, carried by angels, which is tranquility [given to the believers].<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Using the *jihad* terms from *ghadwa wa-rawḥa*.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Q5:64.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Q9:26.

Our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf, may God immortalize his dominion, has obliterated the Franks, so you will never see them again in the lands of Islam, destroying their fortresses, castles and cities, so they have been effaced like ruined palm stumps. The Franks feared a defeat from which there was no recovery, rendered lowly after their good tidings were glorious, of it reaching that which rendered kings incapable. With its sorrow, its Chosroes' have passed away.

In the islands, all the roads for the Arabian horses of Islam have been done for, and they believed that their boats would prevent any sudden assault upon them, so how much the raven cried out in mourning for them over it.

When during this year our dry land was emptied of them, we raided them in their sea with boats, and this, or the raid on time is possible, guaranteed by apprehension of wishes and targets. Islamic galleys were constructed, in accord with what we mentioned in terms of interest in their totality and detail, and war-instruments by which it is intended to obtain the greatest grace from God. Blessed treasures were called for, so they came from every direction, and every defense, [59] but they were only in the quantity ordered, until God improved the administration in its seas, and increased the aid. This was achieved before the appointed time, so that the salt sea would be opened by means of it, and more numbers secured for launching (*ramy al-baḥr*).

When it was Ṣafar of the year [6]91 [February 1292] all of the implements for construction were ready for launching and men. The seas were in commotion, the locks locked, the fates proclaiming, the homelands of the enemy became as nothing, empty. When the army's departure was promised in Ṣafar, our master the Sultan ordered it to be decorated, so the emirs divided it among themselves in the best way.

Each of them were dispatched, according to [the fleet's] rank of determination. They vied with each other in elegance, and desisted, vied in boasting, and in splendor, planting standards and flags in it. It was more splendid than the flowers, because those are manifest, while the latter are concealed and hidden in their blossoms.

Among the golden and polished helmets, the waves say, "These are jewels of the brackish sea; I have guided them to my clamorous sea." Among the drawn swords (*tashāhīr*), and items for going (*madhhab*) like silk, the look of which was like the shining star. Among the coverings were those like heaped and piled clouds of darkness, which its colors remind one of a snake's color, and disposition in the water like that of the scorpion.

When it was Monday 13 Ṣafar [February 4, 1292] our master the Sultan, may God immortalize his sultanate, ordered that it conduct exercises, and it present itself according to its rank, so it approached [60] marching, marching. It came, with al-Malik al-Muwakkil aiding it, row after row, and the winds did not pass into violence. It floated along towards it [the fleet], rather than gusting against it. The trumpets blared forth, while the drums bellowed. Absolutely no one could hear anybody else saying anything.

It began as if there were two horses on the banks of the Nile [River], while in the training fields there were more horses. On that day absolutely none of the people who were not in danger of a hernia because of their pleasure at seeing this; on the dry lands as meadows, and on the boats leaning over.

Those who had decorated the galleys with mangonels divided them up, beautifying them and fortifying them, while masts built of wood were made clear, and it seemed to the onlookers that they had been anointed with oil, to others like towers that had been tested and perfected.

Our master the Sultan sailed, then stopped at the seaside next to the noble viewing point, close to al-Lūq,<sup>29</sup> in the most resplendent attire, most splendidous following, and, praise to God, having been decked out like the stars in beauty. One would have wished that there would have been numbers among the totality of his noble embroidered dresses.

The Maṣūra galleys were displayed before him, and if their navigators, commanders and seamen had not held them back, they would have come to him personally. The name of God was uttered over their setting sail, and their anchorage, their setting out for raiding, and their return, so those inside of them were ordered to receive all provisions, and an abundance of whatever they needed to attack the frightened unbelievers, so as to kindle with it a roaring blaze among them.

He then returned to his built-up viewing-place, while the flags [61] of those creations in the sea were flags declaiming it, and beside him shouting in the highest voice the winds their tongues to voice, repeating it:

*O Abū Malikā, God made him a guardian, ennobling his days and nights,  
He who prepared the two armies, searching for the enemy on dry land and at  
sea, with numerous men and galleys,  
With an army he surrounded the wide waters, while with another the sur-  
rounding sea became a streamlet,  
For one a procession in the name of God sets forth, while for the other you  
sail as a raider in the name of God,  
The sailors (bahriyya) facilitated safety there, while the sailors also facil-  
itated ports,  
You have closed the breaches/borders of the religion so it is as if what was  
falling apart God strengthened through you,  
You advanced until all unbelief, and every man of them, began to say: a  
specter!  
You proclaimed the faith until their warner said to them: we have heard a  
herald!  
You raided them, so God will make you continue as a guarantor for victory,  
while God continues to suffice as your aid,*

<sup>29</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, iii, pp. 364, 381, 389–92.

*The winds will not suffice with grey and dark days as reins, nor the fixed mountains as harbors,  
 How many times previously the enemies said to its delegation: is it horses we see or some fata morgana coming?  
 So say to the sons of the Franks: What as a fortress is Cyprus to you, when the sea no longer protects you,  
 These galleys will come sailing to you, and every youth and girl will be taken captive,  
 Upon every noble horse swimming, not content to wade, even if the fish are swimming,  
 When you go here and there, you will see them on land and sea coming and going,  
 The Lord of the Throne has realized what I said, just as my words were realized in the past. [62]*

*[The final ten pages deal with the Prophet's birthday celebration, the futūwwa organizations that were spreading at this time, and the disposition of waqfs (religious endowments). The document does not finish off with any sense that it is complete; presumably it was left untouched once Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir died, and al-Ashraf turned into a comparatively short-lived and insignificant sultan. Prior to its edition it does not seem to have been utilized by Mamluk historians.]*

## Text 2

### TEXT OF A TREATY BETWEEN AL-ASHRAF AND JAIME II OF ARAGON

*As stated in the introduction, this treaty text is almost unique as a document attested for al-Ashraf's reign, and is dated January 29, 1293, according to the Muslim reckoning.<sup>1</sup> Its style is very similar to those treaties from Qalāwūn's reign above. Most likely it was concluded on al-Ashraf's part (since technically the treaty with Aragon from 1286 above would have still been in force) because of his fears of a papal-instigated crusade following the conquest of Acre. This treaty, however, purports to cover all of the Spanish and Portuguese rulers, as well as those Aragonese in Sicily, and seems rather one-sided to the benefit of al-Ashraf. The references concerning Castile and Portugal are severely out of date, so it is doubtful that either country was consulted for this treaty. Its place-name list gives us a picture of al-Ashraf's dominion at the height of his short reign.*

A duplicate of a blessed truce established between our master the Sultan, may God immortalize his dominion, and the king [...] and his broth[ers]<sup>2</sup> [...] and his in-laws.<sup>3</sup>

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

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<sup>1</sup> The editors appear to have accepted 19 Šafar 692 as January 29, 1292 (p. 335, top), as there is a discrepancy between the Islamic date and the Christian date. If one accepted the Christian date, it would work well with the fleet maneuvers described above in text 1 (b), which are dated to February 1292. Compare version in al-Qalqashandī, *Šubh*, xiv, pp. 75–83.

<sup>2</sup> Alfonso III of Valencia and Fadrique (Frederico III of Sicily, regent from 1291).

<sup>3</sup> Sancho IV of Castile (1284–95), father-in-law to Jaime II of Aragon, and Denis of Portugal (1279–1325), married to Isabel of Aragon, Jaime's sister.



Love, and mutual friendship are established between our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf, the majestic lord, the knower, the just, Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, the Sultan of Islam and the Muslims, the aider of the Muḥammadan faith, the reviver of the `Abbāsid dynasty (*dawla*),<sup>4</sup> Sultan of the Egyptian homelands, the coastal lands<sup>5</sup> and the Syrian lands, the Aleppan lands, the Ashrafi lands of the Fortress of the Muslims [= Qal'at al-Rūm], Sultan of kings, king of the entire east, Sultan of Nubia, lands of King David, sultan of Jerusalem, servant (*khādīm*) of the two holy places (*ḥaramayn*) ...

A copy of a truce that was concluded between al-Malik al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl son of al-Malik al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn Qalāwūn, ruler of the Egyptian homelands, and the Syrian lands, and Don Jaime, King of Aragon (*al-rayd Araghūn*), ruler of Barcelona from the Andalusian lands at the hand of his envoys, his brother and his in-law, which mentioned them during Ṣafar, year 692 [January 1293], which is:

Love and mutual friendship is established between al-Malik al-Ashraf and his majesty the majestic king, the generous, the wise, the monarchical (*al-bāsil*), the leonine lion, the high-ranking, celebrated, Don Jaime, King of Aragon, and his brother Don Fadrique, and Don Pedro, and their two in-laws, whose two envoys arrived at the noble gates, on behalf of their sender, the King Don Jaime that they would be entering into a truce and mutual friendship. This would obligate the King Don Jaime through the both of them with all of that which he is obligated, and to support their issue.

The both of them are: the majestic king, the generous, the wise, the monarchical, the leonine lion Don Sancho, King of Castile, Toledo, Leon, Valencia, Seville, Cordoba, Murcia, Jaen and the Algarves,<sup>6</sup> the trustee (*wakil*) of the realm of Aragon and Portugal; and the majestic king Don Alfonso, King of Portugal,<sup>7</sup> from the date of Thursday, 19 Ṣafar, year 692 [January 29, 1293], which is equivalent to three days remaining in January of the year 1292 [=January 28, 1292] [336] of our master the Lord Messiah, upon whom be peace.

This was in the presence of the two envoys of the King Don Jaime, who were the great esteemed Romeo de Marimón, the judge on behalf of Don Jaime in Valencia, and his companion, the esteemed, the chief Raimundo Alemany, tailor of Barcelona, who arrived bringing the letter of the King Don Jaime, sealed with the aforementioned royal seal. Its contents necessitated that he had entrusted their circumstances and upkeep for the both of them, and asked that they both be domiciled in accord with they would say.

<sup>4</sup> Titles appearing on al-Ashraf's coins.

<sup>5</sup> Conquests from the Crusaders.

<sup>6</sup> Castile gave up its claims to the Algarves according to the Treaty of Badajoz in 1267, so this is out of date.

<sup>7</sup> Who died in 1279, so information concerning him is at least 15 years out of date.

The content of their face-to-face discussions and their request was reestablishment of the basis for the peace, love and friendship. The stipulations that al-Malik al-Ashraf stipulated upon King Don Jaime were that he was obligated to all of the stipulations mentioned, and that the aforementioned king swear to them—him and his aforementioned two brothers, and his two in-laws. The two aforementioned envoys put their signatures to all of the sections that he mentioned at his command and by his written order.

That the King Don Jaime, his two brothers and his two in-laws are obligated by them, which are the establishment of love and mutual friendship from the previous date for duration of years and annuals, nights and days following each other, on dry land and at sea, on plain and rugged, near and far.

On the condition that the lands of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf and his castles, his fortresses, his border fortresses, his realms, the ports of his lands, their coastlands and inlands, all of the regions, its cities, and all of what is included in his realm, reckoned to be part of it, from the rest of the Rūm, Iraqi, eastern, Syrian, Aleppan, Euphrates, Yemenite, Hījāzī regions, the Egyptian homelands and the west.

The boundary of these lands and regions, their ports and coastal lands, from the Syrian dry lands towards Constantinople, and the coastal Rūm lands, which is from western Tripoli and the coastal lands of Barqa, Alexandria, Damietta, al-Tīna, Qatya, Gaza, Ashqelon, Jaffa, Arsuf, Caesarea, `Athlīth, Haifa, Acre, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Jubayl, Botrun, Syrian Tripoli, Tortosa, Maraqiyya [Maraclea], Marqab, and the coastal lands of Marqab, Bāniyās, and its other [towns], Jabala, Latakia, al-Suwaydiyya, and all the ports, and dry lands, to the border city of Damietta and Tinnīs Lake.

Its boundary from the western dry land is from Tunis, and the region of Ifrīqiyā [Tunisia], its lands and ports, western Tripoli, its border cities, lands and ports, Barqa, its border cities, lands and ports, to the border port of Alexandria, Rosetta, and Tinnīs Lake, its coastal lands, lands, and ports.

Whatever these lands, and realms contain, and whatever was not mentioned, with the cities, border cities, coastal lands, ports, and roads, on dry land and at sea, coming and going, staying and traveling from armies, troops, Turkmen, Kurds, Bedouin, subjects, merchants, galleys (*shawānī*), boats and ships, wealth, and quadrupeds, according to the various religious, peoples and ethnicities, whatever other types of wealth, weapons, goods, items, merchandise people have (lit. hands contain), whether small or great, close or distant, on dry land or at sea, is safe in their persons, spirits, wealth, wives, and children from the King Don Jaime, from his two brothers, and his two in-laws who were mentioned, as well as from their children, their knights, their horsemen, their allies, their fleets, their foot-soldiers, and all who are connected to them.

Similarly, every castle, fortress, land and region that God Most High will conquer at the hands of al-Malik al-Ashraf, at the hand of his children, his armies, and his troops—all are covered by this ruling.

On the condition that the lands of the King Don Jaime, the lands of his two brothers, and two in-laws, his aforementioned realms, are included in this truce, which are Aragon, its districts and lands, Sicily, and its island, its lands and districts, the dry land of Apulia, its districts and lands, the island of Malta,<sup>8</sup> Qauşara [Pantellaria], its lands and districts, Mallorca, Ibiza, and its lands, Rosellon,<sup>9</sup> and its districts, and whatever lands adjoining these regions belonging to his enemies the Franks the King Don Jaime will conquer are safe from al-Malik al-Ashraf, his sons, his armies, his troops, his galleys, his fleets, they and those knights, horsemen, subjects, people of his lands that are in them are safe, tranquil in their persons, wealth, wives, and children on dry land and at sea, coming and going.

On the condition that the King Don Jaime, he and his two brothers, and his two in-laws are friends of those who have mutual friendship with al-Malik al-Ashraf and his sons, and are enemies of those who demonstrate enmity to them from the rest of the Frankish kings, and other Frankish kings.

If the Pope in Rome, or one of the Frankish kings were to intend heading or not heading, great or small, or from the Genoese, the Venetians, or other different ethnicities [337] from the Franks, the Byzantines (*rūm*), or the houses, such as the Templars and the Hospitallers' Houses, or the rest of the Christians, harming the lands of al-Malik al-Ashraf with war or harm, then the King Don Jaime, he and his two brothers, and his two in-laws, would prevent them, repel them, garrison their galleys and boats, and go towards their lands, and distract them with themselves from going towards the lands of al-Malik al-Ashraf, his ports, his coastal lands, his aforementioned border cities, and others mentioned, and they would fight them on dry land and at sea, with their galleys, their fleets, their knights, their horsemen and their foot-soldiers.

On the condition that whenever one of the Frankish allies of al-Malik al-Ashraf departs from the stipulations of the truce that is established between them, or something occurs which necessitates the abrogation of the truce, the King Don Jaime would not aid them, nor any one of his two brothers, or his two in-laws, nor their horsemen, their knights, or the people of their lands with horses, or horsemen, weapons or foot-soldiers, wealth or support, or provisions, boats or galleys, or anything else.

On the condition that whenever the Pope in Rome or the Frankish kings, the Byzantines or the Tatars or others request (*talaba*) support or assistance from the King Don Jaime, from his two brothers or from his two in-laws or from the people of their lands with horsemen or foot-soldiers, or wealth, or boats, galleys or weapons, he will not grant it to them at all.

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<sup>8</sup> Following the editor, original *mālaqa*.

<sup>9</sup> Following the editor.

This will not be in secret or in public, nor will he render aid to any one of them, nor support them in any way. Whenever he learns of one of them who is going towards the lands of al-Malik al-Ashraf to make war against him, or to harm him in any way, he will notify al-Malik al-Ashraf with this report, and the route which they are planning in the timeliest manner prior to their embarking from their lands, nor will he conceal anything of this.

On the condition that whenever one of the Islamic boats breaks apart (crashes) in the lands of the King Don Jaime, or the lands of his two brothers, or his two in-laws, they are obligated to defend it, to guard their boats, their wealth, and to render aid to the repair of their boats, and to provision them, together with their wealth and their goods to lands of al-Malik al-Ashraf.

Similarly, if a boat from the lands of Don Jaime, his two brothers, his two in-laws, or his allies breaks apart in the lands of al-Malik al-Ashraf, they will have the same rights as those listed above.

On the condition that when one of the Muslims or Christian merchants from the lands of al-Malik al-Ashraf, or under the protection (*dhimmi*) of his land's inhabitants in the lands of the King Don Jaime or the lands of his two brothers, or his two in-laws, their children, or their allies, they will not harm them with regard to their wealth, or their goods, but will bear their wealth and livelihood to the lands of al-Malik al-Ashraf for him to do as he chooses. Similarly, anyone from the inhabitants of the King Don Jaime's realm, the lands of his two brothers, his two in-laws or their allies who dies in the lands of al-Malik al-Ashraf, they will have the same ruling as that listed above.

On the condition that whenever envoys from the lands of al-Malik al-Ashraf pass through the lands of the King Don Jaime or the lands of his two brothers, his two in-laws, or their allies, heading in any direction, near or far, coming or going, or if the wind has blown them upon their shores, the envoys, their youths (male servants), attendants, and whichever envoys they are conveying from other kings, will be safe, protected in their persons, wealth, and they will be provisioned to the lands of al-Malik al-Ashraf.

On the condition that the King Don Jaime, his two brothers, and his two in-laws, should there be a problem from any of their lands that would necessitate abrogation of the mutual truce, it would be incumbent upon King Don Jaime, his two brothers, and his two in-laws to seek after the one causing this [problem] and punish him.

On the condition that the King Don Jaime, his two brothers, and his two in-laws will commit on behalf of his lands and others from the Franks that they will import iron, white linens (*bayād*), wood and other items to the Islamic border-ports.<sup>10</sup>

On the condition that whenever one of the Muslims is taken prisoner on dry land or at sea, from the starting point of this mutual truce, from the rest

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<sup>10</sup> All of which were forbidden by the papal boycott after the fall of Acre.

of the lands, east and west, furthest and nearest, and they are brought to the lands of King Don Jaime, the lands of his two brothers, and his two in-laws, to be sold there, the King Don Jaime, his two brothers and his two in-laws will be bound to redeem the prisoner and bear him to the lands of al-Malik al-Ashraf.

On the condition that whenever there are business dealings in goods between the Muslim merchants, and those of the lands of King Don Jaime, his two brothers, and his two in-laws, when they are in the lands of al-Malik al-Ashraf, their affair will be conducted according to the necessity [338] of the noble *sharī`a*.

On the condition that whenever one of the Muslims sails in the boats of King Don Jaime's lands, or his two brothers, or his two in-laws, and conveys his goods with them, but the goods disappear, then King Don Jaime, his two brothers, or his two in-laws are obligated to return it if it can be found, or its value if it is lost [for good].

On the condition that whenever someone from the lands of al-Malik al-Ashraf included in this mutual truce flees to the lands of King Don Jaime, his two brothers, or his two in-laws, or heads with goods for someone else, and stays in that land, then King Don Jaime, his two brothers and his two in-laws are obligated to return the one fleeing or the value of the third party's goods, and the wealth with him to the lands of al-Malik al-Ashraf as long as he is a Muslim.

If he converts to Christianity, then the wealth that is with him specifically should be returned. The realm of King Don Jaime, his two brothers, and his two in-laws have the same rights with regard to one who flees to the lands of al-Malik al-Ashraf, according to the same ruling as above.

On the condition that when those Franks from the lands of King Don Jaime, the lands of his two brothers, his two in-laws and allies, arrive seeking to visit noble Jerusalem (*al-Quds*), and they have a letter from King Don Jaime in hand with his seal to deputy of al-Malik al-Ashraf in noble Jerusalem they will be allowed to make pilgrimage in accord with this right to fulfill the pilgrimage, and to return to their land safe, tranquil in their person and wealth, whether man or woman, as long as King Don Jaime does not write on behalf of any of his enemies, or those of al-Malik al-Ashraf under any circumstances.

On the condition that King Don Jaime guards all of the lands of al-Malik al-Ashraf, him and his two brothers, and his two in-laws from every harm, and all of them makes an effort that not one of the enemies of al-Malik al-Ashraf would reach the lands of al-Malik al-Ashraf, nor render aid to them in harming the lands of al-Malik al-Ashraf, or his subjects. He should support al-Malik al-Ashraf on the dry land and at sea, with all he desires and chooses.

On the condition that the obligatory dues upon those coming and going, and passing back and forth from the lands of King Don Jaime, his two brothers, and his two in-laws to the border ports of Alexandria and Damietta, and

the Islamic border cities, the sultan's realms, upon the rest of the varied goods and merchandise, of all sorts continue according to the established levies from the Permanent Chancellery (*al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*) until the end of the time, and nothing adverse will happen to them. In the same way for those who pass back and forth from the sultan's lands to the lands of King Don Jaime, his two brothers and his two in-laws.

This love and mutual friendship will continue according to these stipulations detailed above, between the two parties, continuously and continually, its rulings and bases according to the best establishment. If the realms in it have become one realm, or one entity, it will not be dissolved by the death of one of the two parties, nor the removal of a governor and the appointment of another, but its rulings will be affirmed, its days, months, and years will be continuous.

On that basis it is arranged and established on the aforementioned date, which was Thursday 19 Šafar year 692 of the prophetic *hijra*, prayers of God be upon him and peace, [...] to 29 January year 1292<sup>11</sup> of the birth of the Lord Messiah, prayers of God be upon him and peace.

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<sup>11</sup> Misspelled.

### Text 3

AL-FADL AL-MA'THŪR MIN  
SĪRAT AL-SULTĀN AL-MALIK  
AL-MANŞŪR, SAYF AL-DUNYĀ  
WA-L-DĪN, SULTĀN AL-ISLĀM  
WA-L-MUSLIMĪN, ABŪ AL-FATH  
QALĀWŪN, KHALLADA ALLĀHU  
SULTĀNAHU

THE TRANSMITTED BOUNTY FROM  
THE WAY OF THE SULTAN AL-MALIK  
AL-MANŞŪR SWORD OF THIS WORLD  
AND THE RELIGION, SULTAN OF ISLAM  
AND THE MUSLIMS ABŪ AL-FATH  
QALĀWŪN, MAY GOD MAKE HIS  
SULTANATE ETERNAL

Al-Shafī` B. `Alī

*This text was written by Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir's nephew, and is much less of a panegyric than is text 1 (a). As Lewicka, who edited it, notes, it is quite disorganized and more of a didactic treatise. There are several anecdotes in which Qalāwūn is not seen in the best light. The sections dealing with the Crusaders or Qalāwūn's life have been selected for the translation. There is a surprising*

amount of material here concerning *Qalāwūn's* eldest son, *al-Ṣāliḥ*, especially given the fact that when this text was written he would have been dead some 30 years, and had never reigned. *Al-Ashraf*, who actually succeeded *Qalāwūn*, by way of contrast, is not mentioned very much, except for the otherwise unknown poem by *Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir* at the finale, congratulating him on his conquest of Acre. It may be that this overemphasis upon *al-Ṣāliḥ*, which cannot have led to any particular gain on *al-Shafī`'s* part, continues his uncle *Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir's* attachment to him which is apparent in text 1 (a).

Probably *Shafī`'s* best writing is his overblown description of the siege of Tripoli. Although the prose is torturous, it is apparent that this is an eye-witness account, and thus valuable.

## Selections from the text:

### Mention of the beginning of his rule

Everyone agreed that he was the most handsome, perfect, magnificent and beautiful of all the imported slaves to arrive during his time, and he was the most perfect in appearance and ethics and the straightest in silence and in conversation. For that reason, the purchasers crowded around him when he arrived, at the age of 14, and expended thousands in gold upon him, considering him to be far beyond the hundreds.

He was the Thousand (*al-alfī*) in stature and in value,<sup>1</sup> because he was the highest and the most expensive, both in form and in price. His place was the most magnificent, and highest. He was, may God make his sultanate eternal, having a large face, and with his brow bright-colored, so that below it was beautiful. His brow was rough on the sides, his eyes were Khwarizmian (narrow), complete in stature, into his sultanate he continued to inspire fear—as no follower was able to discern a defect in God's complete creation of him. [200]

The felicitous martyred Sultan, *al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb* son of *al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāṣir al-Dīn* son of the Sultan *al-Malik al-`Ādil Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr* son of *Ayyūb*, purchased him,<sup>2</sup> and kept him specially for himself, choosing him because of his impressive ethnic origin, and treasuring him from morning to evening, picking him out as the one who would eventually inherit his dominion.

Nor was he disappointed in this conjecture, as he grew during the regime of *al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ* in spite of his youth, as he thought well of him, and flourished as a result.

<sup>1</sup> Some Christian authors, such as Hethoum, *A Lytell Chronicle* (trans. Richard Pynson, ed. Glenn Burger, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), p. 70 called him *Alfī* (in text "Elsy").

<sup>2</sup> As Lewicka notes (p. 200, note 7) *Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb* was almost certainly not his first owner.



When the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ was collected to God's mercy, his close retinue (*khūshdāshiyya*) [201] followed him, and looked up to him as their leader. They would only stop when he did, and go when he did. Shajar al-Durr, mother of Khalīl, after the death of her lord (*sayyid*), al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, ascended while he was in this exalted state, and the knight Aqḡay took over his close retinue, while he was feted and honored to utmost degree.

When al-Malik al-Mu'izz 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Turkmānī *al-jāshnakīr* (food-taster) received the most exalted shower of favor from him.<sup>3</sup> The rule then passed to his son, Qāqān, while he was in the highest position during his regime and the one of the greatest power in his realm. Then to al-Malik al-Muzaffar Sayf al-Dīn Quṭuz al-Mu'izzī, while he was the counselor, the one upon whom he relied, the helper in the loosening and binding of counsel.

Alone of [202] his close retinue—those were (largely) arrested, and transferred away from their rightful rank—our master the Sultan, a hand of fate reached down to him during each one of these [Mamluk] regimes, nor did any fault cause a rupture in his high worth [through jealousy], but he continued to be an emir, who dispensed advice as well as one to whom people turned.

Then when the regime of al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Ṣāliḥī came, he took him with his two hands, and relied upon him for the stability of his dominion, placing him as the foremost adviser, and as his right-hand man (literally, “his noun's predicate”), and depended upon him in a way no king had with an emir, or any sultan with an adviser. [203]

*[The intervening sections deal with Qalāwūn's close relationship with Baybars, and his marriage ties, his dealings with Baybars' sons, his good administration, and the beginnings of his sultanate. Further chapters cover his relations with Baybars' sons after he became sultan, his dealings with Sunqur al-ashqar, and the events leading up to the Battle of Ḥimṣ against the Mongols. There is an extensive treatment of this battle, which is presented as the high point of Qalāwūn's sultanate, as well as treatment of the negotiations with the Mongols that followed it.]*

*Lewicka notes that the middle section of the work is literary in character, and has been translated by various scholars;<sup>4</sup> she herself translated a section.<sup>5</sup> These sections strengthen the impression that even more than Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, al-Shāfi's work is designed almost as a “mirror for princes” rather than a strictly biographical work.]*

<sup>3</sup> In actuality Lewicka points out that Qalāwūn had to flee from Aybak.

<sup>4</sup> See Axel Moberg, “Regierungspromemoria eines ägyptischen Sultans,” in Gotthold Weil (ed.), *Festschrift Eduard Sachau* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1915), pp. 406–21.

<sup>5</sup> Paulina Lewicka, “What a King Should Care about: Two Memoranda of the Mamluk Sultan on Running the State's Affairs,” *Studia Arabistyczne i Islamistyczne* 6 (1998), pp. 5–45.

### Mention of the issues of the Franks in Marqab and Tripoli and the truce with them

As for Marqab, it belonged to the Hospitallers, and its rule was under the control of their commander in Acre, who was Brother William [=John of Montferrat]. Al-Malik al-Zāhir had made a truce with them for a period of ten years. He died when it had been terminated, and there remained between the year [6]76 until 80 [1277–81] [377] no truce.

They coveted the lands, and persisted in vandalism. The sultanic deputy on the part of our master the Sultan in Ḥiṣn al-Akrād was his personal mamluk, the emir, the commander of the army (*isfahsalār*) Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Ṭabbākī. Their aggression made it necessary for him to ride—him and those Baḥriyya [regiment] who were with him—so he advanced upon it without reconnaissance.

The Franks came out against him, concealing themselves in an ambush, so took a number of the Baḥriyya Ṣāliḥiyya [regiments] prisoner, but he personally together with some who were with him were safe.

When his misplaced trust in his deputy reached our master the Sultan, he ordered so I wrote with just a nuance of what was said: “O laggard, when did you hear that anyone looks over the right and left flanks [of the army] [378] while attacking a stone castle?” and he was strongly disapproved of his behavior. This [failure] remained in our master the Sultan’s heart, while he was distracted, treating that which was more serious, engrossed in the healing of what was more dangerous.<sup>6</sup>

When our master the Sultan rode from al-Rawḥā’, and camped at Archers’ Springs (*‘uyūn al-asāwir*) in the deputy [territory] of Kūndak, according to what we previously explained, Frankish envoys from Acre presented themselves because of their neglect in making amends, and attempting to repair their disgraceful actions.

Among their number an envoy of the Hospitaller brethren whose name was Sir William was present, seeking a mutual truce for Marqab, so our master the Sultan agreed, and ordered a truce to be drawn up. I wrote it in the previously mentioned campsite, while the noble intention [of the Sultan] opposed it. So I added an additional stipulation to the stipulations of when it would lapse, in which was its ruin, even though that was not possible [to accomplish] at that time. Then our master the Sultan was distracted by Kūndak’s and his band’s tale, and he thought it appropriate to follow a stratagem to finish it [Marqab] off.

Our master the Sultan decided during this trip (*sufra*), and seized the opportunity of this victory, returning to the seat of his dominion, while he was thinking about how to resolve the matter of Marqab, and what matters

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<sup>6</sup> The Mongols.

could be used in order to abrogate the truce. While he was in this position, and it was agreed to put the foot down on them.

When it was the year [6]84 [1285] our master the Sultan went towards it, made it there, reaching it, so then he fulfilled his promise to destroy it in accord with his promise made, taking vengeance (*thā'ir*) upon them, firing darts of destruction, and showing them humiliation by his attack upon them in their own home. [379]

The chief Faḥ al-Dīn Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir has a section of writing, describing its impregnability, which is:

This castle is suspended from the star, and is connected to the clouds; it makes conditions for all time, and its towers are alone with and intermingled with the constellations. How many inattentive overlook it, and were it not for exaggeration—asking forgiveness from God—you would almost say that it is under the protection of the Lotus Tree of the outermost limit. It is as if the winds because of its goodness choke it, and the fogs because of its greenery make it speak. It is next to the [Mediterranean] sea; God has completed in it [the beauty of] ten castles.

Therefore, it became a slaughter-festival for the enemies, which was none other than the Slaughter Festival [at the close of the hajj]. It is a well-protected flock, as if it was the tower that Pharaoh desired for Haman. God made it beautiful to comprehend for the Muḥammadan community, and made giving it with the aid of the angels a beautiful collaboration. No longer will the realms boast of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Fortress of the Kurds) without adding this Fortress of the Turks.

By taking it the lands of the Ismailis were made safe, both near and far, and this will be the Raqīm for every Cave that would be in them [the lands]. How many times the People of the Cave were threatened by the rejected rebellious Satan, and how many times they witnessed in it “the dog stretching its paws in the yard.”<sup>7</sup>

How much silver and gold the brethren of Hospitallers' House (*ikhwat bayt al-isbitār*) invested to construct it, which weighed qintars and more qintars! How much they were brethren, and did not reckon like merchants in spending upon it! It is only called [380] Marqab because its people ascend and watch (*r-q-b*). It was only penetrated because it is a jewel washed up by the sea upon this shore, and a jewel can only be strung after being perforated.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Q18:18. Al-Raqīm was traditionally the name of the People of the Cave's dog who guarded them.

<sup>8</sup> Until this point from Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir with minor modifications.

The owned-one (mamluk) collecting this biography [Shāfi'] has a section in the same vein, which is:

This castle which the eye when gazing cannot precisely apprehend its end, nor bird its height in spite of its penetrating gaze; its high humps are sureties against the desires of those who cast [stones], a barrier to those who sow discord and tell tales. It is only “like a good tree” and even if has been corrupted,<sup>9</sup> “its root is firm and its branch (reaches) to the sky.”<sup>10</sup>

The sun is veiled by its being in the center, and wind-gusts are prevented by its being outstretched—its extremity repels them from it, blunting them, and deceives the one sent to it. The one who attacks it cannot find a way to carry it out, as the obstruction of its stone secures it from the smallness of the pickaxes and the subtlety of its height such that it frustrates a disputing attacking adversary. There is no difference in terms of its defensibility between one who stays, rides, besieges or becomes emaciated [while besieging it].

Then hating (*mashā'fa*)<sup>11</sup> it (using arrows' tongues)<sup>12</sup> is as if it addresses Jupiter, is nearer to the heavens than the earth, longer than broader, to the stars than to (earthen) plots marked out (*tukhūm*), but also to plots marked out than to the stars, with its sides having been made strong equally. It cannot be reached either by ascending or from the foundations; neither those close nor those far away can get to it. Winds blowing intercept the mangonels' stones cast at it, and arrows sent are repelled, so its cunning suffices to cause them to fall short.

Stars' pounding competes about it by the right of proximity, and shepherds' entrance to it; under the clouds' tails its horizon does the same to those who comes near. The fortification has enclosed it from all [381] sides, its strength has (also) enclosed it—there is no way for accidents to be suffered, or for sharpened arrows to collide with it. They will fall back<sup>13</sup> without even a notch. As for the hard stone, it will come back after having found a hardness that blocks it (from reaching Capella).

Its strength protects the crossing of its breadth from being breached, while its height towers over its inhabitants in guarding their refuge in a

<sup>9</sup> Reading *khubithat* for *hubithat*.

<sup>10</sup> Q14:24.

<sup>11</sup> The variant, *al-mashā'fa* in place of *mashāha* “pasture for sheep” seems better.

<sup>12</sup> An insertion, presumably clarifying the difficult word; all other parentheses in this section are also additions.

<sup>13</sup> Or die.

way that the building constructor planned. However, our aid was from the heavens, so while at the beginning of the siege disease robbed us of our strength, and we neglected entirely the black arrows (their prophecy), until the time when we made it a harvest as if we had no need of yesterday, and the sensation of the blowing winds passing in their sighing calmed us.

There is no feeling left; we took it, and reproved it, we cast it away, and thwarted it, removed it, then got rid of it entirely, and advanced upon it, against the worst manners, without kissing the earth at the sight of its abode, so we faced it, took captives, took captives, and raided, raided. This Book of ours, having its stubborn submitted, its game passing on the right and the left become weak, its mourner struck dumb by the thought of the Franks, as their exhausted one is almost in hand, and its rebellious one obedient.

Then its out-forts (*ṣayāṣī*) were taken, to God be the praise, and its place became established, contending over it became normal, and so it became, praise be to God, part of the House of Islam, a place for the “peace” (*salām*) greeting, while peace is where it ended up. Until today it is in the hand of Islam, so after the church-bell the muezzin now proclaims. [382]

### Mention of the truce with Syrian Tripoli

This fortress also was in the state of truce with al-Malik al-Zāhir, may God Most High have mercy on him, but the truce ran out, its period lapsed, and its friendship had disappeared, so when our master the Sultan proceeded to protect Damascus in the year 680 [1281], according to what was previously mentioned, Tripolitan envoys presented themselves from its lord, Prince Bohemond [VII] son of Bohemond [VI].<sup>14</sup>

In his appellation of “Prince”, it is agreed that there is a strange story, which is that al-Malik al-Zāhir had besieged it, and envoys had gone back and forth between the two of them, with its lord seeking a peace. When agreement was achieved, the emir Fāris al-Dīn Aqṭāy *al-atābak* accompanied by the head

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<sup>14</sup> As noted Bohemond VI was one of the few Crusaders to appear in the Muslim biographical literature: al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, x, p. 228 (no. 2522) has this to say about him: “He was fair in form, pleasant to look at. The Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī said: I saw him when he presented himself at Ba’lbak to Kitbughā Nuyin, and ascended to Ba’lbak Castle and its palace. I talked with him personally, that he would demand it [Ba’lbak Castle] from Hūlagū, and would do what it takes to gain his favor. This became well-known in Ba’lbak, and it was painful for its people, and seemed horrible to them.. when al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn took over Tripoli in the year 688 [1289] the people exhumed the bones of that Bohemond and threw them in the streets.”

(*al-ṣadr*) Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir proceeded to Tripoli to ratify the truce according to what had been agreed.

This necessitated disguising al-Malik [383] al-Zāhir as an unimportant person, so he entered following *al-atābak* in the form of a *silāhdār* (armor-bearer) in order to see the previously mentioned fortress to scout it out and to learn how it could be devoured.

When they were present at the Prince's council,<sup>15</sup> and the situation was established, the minister Muḥyī al-Dīn began to write, so he wrote what was like it:

The truce is established between the Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir and his honor the Commander ...

However, when the Prince saw it, he said, "Who is the Commander?" He said, "You are." He said, "I am a Prince." "No," he said, "the prince is al-Malik al-Zāhir, as the [title] prince belongs to the lord of Jerusalem, Iskandarun, and Antioch, but all of those belong to our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir," so he was angered at this matter, and it was difficult for him. His anger was obvious such that al-Malik al-Zāhir almost thought that it was a scribal quibble, but he shot him a secret look, because there was a purpose behind this.

So the *atābak* turned, and said:

O Muḥyī al-Dīn, you have told the truth, and this is title belongs [legitimately] to our master the Sultan, but he has given it to this man, just as he gave him his fortress, his lands, and his subjects, so I guarantee this matter on his behalf.

At that time, he wrote it, and made [the title of] "Prince" separate [from his name], and when they had left, and al-Malik al-Zāhir arrived back at the place of his royal tent, he told this to the emirs of his dynasty, and they all had a good laugh from it. He said, "O Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir, this was his moment! May God curse the Prince!" Thus he told me, may God have mercy upon him. [384]

We will return to the matter of Tripoli, and its seeking a truce with our master the Sultan. When the Prince's envoys presented themselves before our master the Sultan, and the lord Faṭḥ al-Dīn, Chancellery Head and I were with him, the Sultan began to ask the envoys why they had come in Turkish.

Then the minister Ghurāb [Raven]<sup>16</sup> rose, who was legalistic, clever and conniving. Thus, his answer to our master the Sultan's question was what

<sup>15</sup> Compare Holt's trans. for the following section *Early Mamluk*, pp. 60–2.

<sup>16</sup> Also a type of single-masted galley, see Agius, *Classic Ships*, glossary. *ghurāb*. It might be possible to imagine that this was a nickname given to a high-ranking figure from one of the Italian maritime city-states, perhaps Genoa, who might have been present at such negotiations.

he described as “the lover of his dynasty” and “the would-be friend of his sultanate’s might,” Bohemond, came asking his sultanate’s might for reestablishment of the love that had been between him and al-Malik al-Zāhir, and to reconstitute it on the basis of his truce.

Our master the Sultan’s answer was, “Where is the wealth you have brought me, and what will you give me from the [Tripolitan] lands?” This Ghurāb did the embassy proud until he had soothed our master the Sultan’s temper by his fine understanding and gentle expression. He continued to be humble until he pleased the soul, cooled the eyes, bringing about a meeting of the minds. He was truly a raven (*ghurāb*) of unity, not a raven of disunity.

He sat, and took out al-Malik al-Zāhir’s truce complete in his writing, and we brought its copy that had been treasured up with us. What al-Malik al-Zāhir had granted was witnessed, as there was no stinginess in it, accepted word for word, and its acceptance was dictated on the basis of hearsay, then considered to have been correct, other than by me.

This was because of when we arrived at the city of `Arqā, which is at the outer limit of their lands, and one of the most beneficial to them, the chief Faṭḥ al-Dīn, Chancellery Chief, said to him: “O minister, isn’t it true that this `Arqā is not covered by the truce terms?” [385]

### Mention of the reason for that

Al-Malik al-Zāhir gave them a truce on the condition that they pay 1000s in gold, and [release] 1000s of Muslim prisoners. He sent for the emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Rūmī *al-dawādār* to take possession of the gold, and to receive the prisoners. He stayed with them for six months, while they were prevaricating and attempting to delude him, expecting changes to the situation—which is usual with them, may God Most High curse them—so the emir Sayf al-Dīn imagined that he would have to have recourse to al-Malik al-Zāhir by fleeing. Then al-Malik al-Zāhir place a guard around this `Arqā from the truce’s beginning until he died.

When it was said to the minister Ghurāb that the truce does not apply to this `Arqā, he understood the picture, and began to plead on its behalf: the delay was only to gather money and to bring all the prisoners from different lands. So the Chancellery Chief said to him, “You would have sent them in the second, third or fourth year [if I let you].”

When he had no choice and no further stratagems, he agreed to pay the money, and [send] the prisoners, saying, “We want your official proclamation that we can calculate what al-Malik al-Manṣūr had seized from this `Arqā over the period of 10 years,” knowing that he would round it to their benefit, and not against them.

The aforementioned Chancellery Chief was perturbed at this, so made our master the Sultan aware [386] of the picture. He then brandished a short sword



(*nīmshāh*),<sup>17</sup> and almost would have taken his head. So I said, and the most senior of the advising emirs who was the emir `Alā' al-Dīn Ṭībars al-Wazīrī, heard me, “We are in an arbitration, condominium and law-formulating council, not a criminal council, and there is an answer to what he said.”

He said to me, “What is the answer to him?” I said, “When our master the Sultan commands, then I will answer,” so he commanded me. Therefore, I said,

O Ghurāb, al-Malik al-Zāhir only guarded this `Arqā in order to terrify you, not in order to be neighbors and to take the situation piecemeal. Therefore, the beasts of burden, seeds and peasants of this town belong to him, not to you, to his deputy not to your deputies, and its land is a realm belonging to him (conquered) by the sword, even everything! This truce was ruined because of their<sup>18</sup> delaying in fulfilling the condition! He only gave you a lease on life by taking part.

I confronted the ruinous (argument) with a correct one, as confronting a ruinous (argument) with another is (only) one type of handling a situation. I let loose upon him like a flood, so the unbeliever was dumfounded, then concurred, no longer demonstrated hypocrisy, and the truce was established upon this condition.

Our master the Sultan ordered the emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Rūmī *al-dawādār* to proceed to swear the Prince, to seize the money, and that I should proceed with him. I demurred for two reasons: one of them was following the order of my relative, the Chancellery Chief, that I should not leave him, and the second was thinking about the consequences and the money.<sup>19</sup> [387]

This Bohemond son of Bohemond, the one who concluded the truce, died, going to God Most High's curse, and its framework disintegrated. Its peoples were aggressive, its establishment and place were bad, its harm multiplied, its sparks flew, its deficiencies increased, and desired to bring it to an early close, so our master the Sultan was left with no choice by to try to repair the matter and to surprise it.

He then departed, leading his armies, so it was not long until he owned it, nor was he slow in extirpating it. On its conquest, the eloquent, meritorious headman Tāj al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Sa`īd, known as Ibn al-Athīr, the Aleppan

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<sup>17</sup> Farsi, *nīmchah*, “a short sword musket”, see Nicolle, glossary, s.v. “heavy-bladed short sword.” This cannot have been a large sword, as it is doubtful that such a weapon would have been allowed in negotiations.

<sup>18</sup> Holt apparently understood this to be a mistake for “your” in continuing direction speech.

<sup>19</sup> It is not clear why Holt translates *māl* as either “outcome” or “consequence.”



secretary, wrote—and he was a secretary whose pen is inimitable, whose words are unlike any others, and no secretary ever softened his inkstand or instruments—writing a congratulation about its conquest to al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Shams al-Dīn, the ruler of Yemen, better than he did, and it is:

May God make the supporters of the high lordly, sultanic, Muẓaffarī, Shamsī place mighty, his friendship in the aid of Islam shall continue to have its tail tucked up, catching up with horses [...], advancing for sacral warfare (*jihād*) like a flood, tending towards aiding in every way, tied to the fleetest hoofs, its spear-tips the stars of its heavens, and its dust the night. Islam implores the lost runaways, and its refuges are free from enemies, allowing concords with them until they reach the outer limits of what is intended, and come to possess the servants' forelocks (*nawāṣī*),<sup>20</sup> while ravishing the lands' fortresses, the earth and abysses being obedient to the lands' rebellious (people).

Congratulations as usual call forth hearts' happiness, and exact from praise the tongues' hidden (abilities); harm exacts its opposite, the hearts' hidden depths, traveling among the souls like spirits [388] in bodies, approaching hopes like lights upon the darkness, especially with a congratulation that indicates towards the truth (as opposed to the false),<sup>21</sup> returning the decoration to the destitute.

The Chancellery exacted that which was forgotten, caused Islam to be remembered, with its battles of yore, taking its vengeance (*thār*) upon those who betrayed their protection agreements (*dhimmi*), repaying those who looked disdainful, or looked down the nose. Since it was this way, in the field there was pasturage, but the boiling hearts were faster, advancing upon it hastily, ears and eyes alert, every limb ready, as if the Immigrants and the Helpers (of the Prophet) were in it.

Its right was to raise the veils, and *t-f-r-l* (?) by them the litters noble camels drag, in order to call forth some of God's grace upon His favored religion, and to praise Him for His aiding his sword, which he unsheathed and drew it to help (the religion). This service will be narrated by the sons of good tidings as long as they travel, and press on behind the victory as it passes. It demonstrates God's care of this community, which he has singled out a Tatar fur coat (*yālmaqa*) from him, while he singled the enemy out for hatred, and that its (the Muslim community's) rights will never be lost.

<sup>20</sup> A sign of humiliation.

<sup>21</sup> Addition from the margin.

If its turban was wound in time, which is the flashing congratulations of Syrian Tripoli's conquest, and its passing after unbelief into Islam, which was a conquest Islam had long awaited, is a conquest which crushed the strength of polytheism (*shirk*), and its people. Then its matter is not lacking in eternality or thought, nor does the ambition of helpers among the watch rise to this level, nor that of cattle wandering as a thought driven by urges, or a lost animal, a hope beseeched by wishes without its returning from it [Tripoli], while tails of defeat are dragged behind. Days and nights pass, while those from previous epochs were incapable of (taking) it. Kings continued to defend it, and if some thoughts turned towards it, then it was feared that its protected pasture would become licit (for destruction).

We were, when God Most High emptied it, at the king's order, and carried out the destruction that we had promised when we raided his enemies, land and sea, expanding the slaughter and captivity of unbelief thereby, raising the insignia [389] of sacral warfare, so that we could return the ravished rights of Islam, bringing the polytheists to the battle-places in battle, expelling them from the lands, just as the Messenger of God, may God pray and grant him peace, ordered the expulsion of the polytheistic groups from the Arabian Peninsula.<sup>22</sup>

When we seized the opportunity, taking them with resolution, without any dispensation, we came to them like a flood at high tide, like the clouds when they pour, the sea and its waves, the dry land and its ravines, the night and its stars, and the lion with its pounce, so we shook their feet, removed their advance, made them taste our might time and again, and made them know that not every white (sword) is a garrison, not every black is a piece of coal, nor every red is a burning brand.

We sallied forth (their despised ones)<sup>23</sup> towards them because of their divisiveness, blocked up against them the horizons of their hypocrisy, rushing upon them in zeal of intention, making them into a shadow of darkness' cloud, going towards them at a time when the varied manifestations of winter gathered, and the echoes reverberated among the assemblies on ways empty of steps, difficult of ascent, with treacherous paths, forbidding the walker their summer because of winter, their morning because of evening, with crossroads mired in snow, watered by mountain springs upon the meadows' chemises, and all collared by amounts of clouds, whose blanketing seemed to have no opening.

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<sup>22</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, iv, p. 78 (no. 3167).

<sup>23</sup> Insertion from the margins.

Competitors rushing at them in the torrent of killing fires with biting (arrows), coming at them with might which caused it to shake with fear, turning their shields so that they are destroyed by war through every artifice, while the others closed in on the walls, as medicines are mixed for them in the houses, arrows send them the fates' envoys, warning them that they are about to be raided by the longing for death of which they had heard.<sup>24</sup> Collecting for them [390] the scabbards'<sup>25</sup> roughness, and visitations' (left-over) half-used water skins, firing at them with bows' hardness, which distracted them from doing the rounds of keeping watch, approaching thereby from the siege-lines using every approach, revealing to them the picture of surrender so as to remove them from seeking to perish, and to cause them to actually perish, which is the path they have trodden.

What was expensive in it became cheap, what was high became low, so we conquered it, let loose in it, emptied it, when we had already emptied it by depopulating its abodes, words empty of meaning, its thrones ruined, abandoned by their occupants, occupied now by wild animals, having been touched like the one "whom Satan has overthrown by (his) touch."<sup>26</sup> It has become harvested as if it was not wealthy yesterday, and as for those of the enemy who remain on the coast, we have left them with privileges plundered, engrossed in pointless activities, humiliated by the lack of one who would help them, fear having placed them in the worst of binds, having exchanged long worry during the night for transitory pleasure during the day.

This city had fame in the lands, and strength, having been likened to lions without their resolution, conquered at the dawn of Islam during the time of Mu'āwiya son of Abū Sufyān,<sup>27</sup> may God have mercy upon him, and passed through kings' hands, growing during the period of Banū 'Ammār. They built a college (*dār al-'Ilm*) in it, which is well-known in the histories. When it was the end of the 5th century [11th century] and the groups of [391] Franks appeared in Syria, which took over the lands, this city was too strong for them. Then they gained control over it in 503 [1109], and it continued in their hands until the present time.

The caliphs and kings of that time were just self-absorbed, face-down in sessions of conviviality, taking morning-draughts perfumed in their

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<sup>24</sup> Cf. Q3:143 "Certainly you were desiring death before you met it."

<sup>25</sup> Reading as Farsi *jafn*, see Nicholle, glossary.

<sup>26</sup> Q2:275.

<sup>27</sup> Fifth caliph, ruled 661–80.

entertainment, happy enough that they had reached their dreams, and realized their dominion when they had the minting (of coins) and the (Friday) sermon.<sup>28</sup> They only considered happiness to be booty, so if there was some rumor of war one day, they would concern themselves with nothing of it, save the ways of defeat: wealth plundered, and lives lost.

This passed all limits when enemies came to the lands, decreasing its outer limits, not caring who they have despoiled. They were, as it is said concerning them, and their like, if they fought, they killed, if they charged, they drove back, if they waged war, they plundered or they dominated, until God raised up those who he raised to aid His religion, and to humiliate polytheism (*shirk*) and its demons (*shayāṭīn*), reviving the ordinance of sacral warfare (*jihād*) after it had been dormant, returning the missing beast of raiding after it had been lost. Hoping in God's power, and His grace to conquer their realms, peak by peak, coming towards their groaning, occupying it handhold (*'urwa*) by handhold, while their homelands are emptied of people, and the land is purified of their filth.

We will renew for the community the strength of its rulership, return the belief of Islam to its motherlands, until God Most High causes us to meet the whites of the eyes, and we find by passing them over that which we were hoping for, and God Most High makes firm the wage for this happiness in the master's codices with these renewed things by which the praising and grateful person's wage is augmented. He will then grant him the most generous portion of these raids' reward, which He aided by His lofty interest, and aid by zeal just as aid given to armies. End quote. [392]

The owned one composing this narrative has (written) in this vein:

May God make those helping the lofty place mighty, and continue to please him with the conquests that God Most High has renewed for Islam, easing His aid as long as hopes for it continue to be aspirations, returning to it the stray that was sought for so long. There was no cloud emanating lightning, just as God wished, to illuminate for the kings seeking to serve, whose perfume would waft for all to breathe, with its praise guiding to it those who did not maintain a measure. His hand continued to be outstretched for intercessory prayer, suspended for producing imploring prayer because of sincerity.

We forbid that certain loyalty and sincerity of loving Him which we have realized conjoins between the hearts—those near by the connection of

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<sup>28</sup> The two traditional signs of sovereignty in Muslim states.

what is valuable, and those afar. No divine aid can be renewed until we value its arrival, and speak face-to-face about its beginnings and endings, which we welcome and praise, and we invite it by our outspread letters.

Even if it is absent, but we testify to it by our pen's text which continues to address through love, by which marriage is offered, ways continuing as usual, with loyalty, and attachment of those people of excessive emotions in seeking purity.

God knows that we distinguish Him from others, and if He comes befriend us as is His wont, and we prefer Him, making seeking Him easy, all of that from which He has purposed that good would come, necessitating beauty coming of it, ruling the affection that is between the hearts, and minds which leads to purification of every pure person.

Following this, He knows that we, since the watch over the realm was delegated to us, and the Commander of the Believers was designated specifically over us, we have promised God that we will not take a break from sacral fighting (*jihād*) in His path for even a second, and that we will continue to protect or (devote ourselves to)<sup>29</sup> the realms' ravisher (with) every loan.

Now the time has come for renewed victory and triumph through the whites of our swords, and the red blood which it births, a rebel obeying at the first (lightning) flash, a divider and wealth (leading) towards peace, truthful news that has been blackened, [393] an enemy we have raided in his home, while reins of triumph have despoiled him from among his supporters, a fortress we have taken from his stronghold, and a lofty dwelling we have emptied of its dwellers.

Syrian Tripoli was astray in Frankish hands for a time, and ravished/taken, without the strength of a sultan rising to bring it back. Ages elapsed, while it remained in the hands of unbelief until God Most High expelled it by our determination from the darkness to the light. This was in spite of the fact that this fortress was strong, and it had been in the hands of the Banū `Ammār for a while.

The Franks besieged it for a period of two years, and the length of the siege was because the Franks had built a fortress in front of it, to demonstrate through it their determination visually. The years of this struggle necessitated Ibn `Ammār, its lord, to depart from it, seeking assistance from the kings of Islam as a result of the length of staying.

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<sup>29</sup> Insertion from the margin.

He placed his brother as his deputy in it, who was embittered, so climbed to its top, and called out to the enemy, as he had been vexed to hand it over, so they hastily received it, and waxed fat in it until the present.

It (Tripoli) continued in the hand of unbelief until God foreordained for it to be returned, brought us, so restoring us by freeing it from the hand of unbelief, and yanking it away. We traveled to it from the seat of Our dominion leading our armies which have wiped out the white of day by their great blackness [=number] (the darkness of the night by the daylight of the whites of their swords separated from their sheathes just short of reaching the battlefield's land).<sup>30</sup> [394]

Sand increased in the provisions, while the winter had buttoned the collar of clouds over the sun and the moon, concealing them from sight by its thickness—no eye or trace could [penetrate it]. The snow had darkened the roadways because of its whiteness, and cut the roads for the traveler. The rains were pouring like mouths of water-skins, while the camels slowed because of the weight of their burdens and the falling raindrops that had caused them to shift.

Clouds and torrents were plentiful from the mountains—these seasonal valley-beds joining together from gathered moisture upon the camps that were not constructed to repel them. Fear thundered everywhere, while lightning came in waves to snatch away the sight. During these waves no sun was there to heat up its coals, nor any fire to blaze.

Therefore, you would see its redness through the blinding white snow, with every hand clutched to its side, wrapped, unable to train the horse's reins, so as to keep it from running away. The troops, however, were not disgruntled from this ordeal, (but) pleased by the double reward. How could it be otherwise, when the reward is in accord with the toil? A small thing like this did not stop them, nor would they twist their reins [to return] without seeing it through, nor hold back from plunging into a ford, from preparing to cross the fates, so making light of having to cross a little mud.

We were in the vanguard, as usual, having engaged in warming ourselves with the heat of raids, while its cold was not concerning for them in the difficulty of getting there, nor in the pleasure of seeing it. We encountered the heavenly and earthly watering-parties with satisfaction and submission. Both the glorious morn and the dark night affected our resolution the same, without our being afraid of being cut (off).

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<sup>30</sup> Insertion from the margin.

What is a camel-train without an army? Moreover, what is a thickly black night without an enemy who attacks by night? What are flashes of lightning without being followed by fixing arrowheads? How could the torrents be calmed without [395] the spears being fixed? How could the wind blow when that for us was the most inconsequential thing? How is the silence anything other than a mountain in the homeland of movement, when there is no doubt that movement is in opposition to silence?

We continued to cut the earth's skin traveling, until we had alighted at our field just as the warners cried morning. We descended, then cut the cords from them. At the time when our victory flags fluttered (*khafaqat*), their hearts throbbed (*khafaqat*) in terror, as they knew that we would not hold back without attacking them. Their hearts fell, as the tongue of the one calling for their retreat and their beginning-point fell dumb, and they were locked out of their spirits by the walls as gates.

What they witnessed with their eyes terrified them, while the unbeliever said: "I wish that I was dirt" and their strength seeped away, as they knew that the flint-lighting fire of the swords' victory was their end-refuge.

Immediately we surrounded them with trial, making them suffer, casting the torment of the mangonels' stones upon them, (corresponding with arrows from morning time causing their blood to flow),<sup>31</sup> showing them the firmness of our resolution—how the uprooting of the castles would be, and with the delicateness of our stratagems, how we would come to yank the spirits from the bodies without a struggle, as well as our different ways of killing them suddenly, as we learned in the congratulatory circumstances of their rule what would be the end of them. Among tunnels following one after the other, with bare feet following those [mounted] two to a horse, while crying "[their] hearts on that Day will pound."<sup>32</sup>

We rained upon them an evil rain from the mangonels, giving them the worst luck (from an astral star),<sup>33</sup> rendering its high points low, its gracious look, all dried up, its length to its breadth, and its heavens to its earth. We took it with a mighty enabler, ruled it by a determined, hastening king, we took it over "out of hand, while they are [396] disgraced,"<sup>34</sup> and we returned it to faith after unbelief, while they were desirous [of it].

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<sup>31</sup> The editor notes that the section in parantheses is on the margin and in a different hand.

<sup>32</sup> Q79:8.

<sup>33</sup> As above from the margin, in a different hand.

<sup>34</sup> Q9:29.

Its day was, which was a day from the year [...], a day to remember, and a time to be numbered among the victorious times. Had they witnessed with their own eyes the dominion, how fairly constructed it was in its being completely uprooted, and the strength of our might in fixing arrows at it, and how they kissed its numerous towers before us!

How we rubbed those within with the sword until it was morning, “what no ear has heard nor eye has seen,”<sup>35</sup> and how the yellow of our banners (*bayāziq*) smoothly rose above its walls at its being vacated by the Banū al-Aṣfar.<sup>36</sup> How the word of the muezzin was announced in place of the gong (*nāqūs*)<sup>37</sup> with the statement “God is greater!”

This is in addition to His happiness that His friends (*awliyā'*) are those who fight (*yujāhid*) on behalf of God's religion with wealth and precious [objects]. Whoever returns to the religion of Islam during the day was not part of unbelief yesterday! Nor will they reach His treasures that one cannot do without, if God's Helpers do not reach them. Nor can one overtop the drawn swords of God, which have overturned His enemies. There were many more arrows in addition to what we ourselves shot when we were present.<sup>38</sup> We have mentioned this [miracle] in our positions, which reached targets among God's enemies, and in this our letter (*kitāb*).

This castle was organized according to the numbered path of our conquests, and included among those places returned from the hand of unbelief by which we demonstrate worship and devotion. This world has been filled with tidings, the smoothness of our flags, and the [Muslim] community has received glad tidings of the strength of our resolution. We will follow this service with another in victory and triumph, declaiming the *sūras* of eternal victory to him, among the best *sūras*. Moreover, God Most High will aid us in the glorious endeavors which we will present to God Most High, and “we shall recount {to you} the best of accounts”<sup>39</sup> to Him by His grace and generosity. [397]

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<sup>35</sup> Para. of I Cor. 2:9, which also appears as a tradition about paradise.

<sup>36</sup> A classical reference usually given to the Byzantines, meaning “Sons of the Yellow [one]” even though the reason for the Byzantines being so named are obscure.

<sup>37</sup> Used by Eastern Christians in place of church-bells.

<sup>38</sup> Implying the participation of supernatural forces.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Q12:3.



### **Mention of the issue of the truce with Acre**

The previously mentioned truce with Acre also came to an end, with the agreements of a cease-fire having lapsed (as its years had passed), and the ability of its neighbors to restrain its aggression was over, so they besieged without an actual siege. God gave Helpers peace without having the Emigrants, as when our master the Sultan's matters were stabilized, he dominated, and his sword's water overflowed with sultanic dignity, the Franks in Acre had no choice but to realize a sultanic truce, as there would be no calm without a cease-fire that would render actions and intentions equal.

Thus, the commanders made haste to it, who were Brother William of Beujeau, commander of the Temples, and Brother William Jean of Montfort, commander of the Hospitallers' House, Brother William [Nicholas] Lorgne, commander of the Teutonic Knights, and Count Roger [of San Severino], deputy of the kingdom [of Jerusalem], to send their envoys to the gates [398] of our master the Sultan with precious gifts, in spite of their vile intentions.

They expended endless supplications and precious wealth, begging like slaves, so our master the Sultan saw that making a truce with them had priority, and took the advice of his emirs, who thought that there was benefit in that because Acre was a hostel (*funduq*) to which our merchants would go back and forth. The benefit to us that would accrue would be considerable, and with such (a truce) our influence would increase.

Therefore, they saw the benefit in what he thought, so stilled the cause of their supplication by giving them what they had hoped for. The truce with them was drawn up along the lines of the Zāhirī truce, after achieving thereby their goal and agreement, they despaired of obtaining more, and the matter was resolved.

Their envoys returned to them, together with our envoys, to swear their aforementioned commanders according to what was established. They hastened to obedience, and all of them demonstrated loyalty, which I thought was imprisonment. This was the form the situation took. [399]

### **Mention of our master the Sultan appointing his son, al-Malik al-Şāliḥ `Alā' al-Dīn, to the sultanate<sup>40</sup>**

When our master the Sultan completed the previous task that we mentioned, and felt safe from the misfortune that had been a worry, time hung heavy upon him, alighting from that which lengthened to that which no one could dispute. No enemy remained ahead of him, nor opponent to turn his hope's

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<sup>40</sup> As Lewicka points out (p. 399, n. 1) the investiture of al-Şāliḥ took place three years before the Treaty of Acre.

smiling face to a frown,<sup>41</sup> he perceived that he needed to have a strong arm linked with his, to have one would help herd the Muslims' guarantorship, as the need for aid was great. When a man is an elder to his brother, then it is appropriate to be an elder to his son, as he is the high, lordly, sultanic, kingly, Ṣāliḥī, `Alā`ī bastion, may God eternalize his dynasty (*dawla*), and that of his father, eternally, eternally through the days, and that their strong arms would be strengthened for the interests of Islam.

So when this strengthened the resolution of our master the Sultan, and he saw that goodness would be completed by appointing him heir-apparent, just as the Commander of the Believers al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh Abū al-`Abbās Aḥmad had appointed him to the overtopping sultanate [400] and the kingdom, through which felicitous matters come about, and delegated to him all the authority of "binding and loosening" which he himself was delegated. (This included) limiting and payment, commands and forbiddings, rule and rulings, abrogation and confirmation, appointment and removal, seriousness and no jesting, so I say, "but jesting?"

He had him write the letter, to cause goals to succeed, to bestow, to forbid, to join, to tear apart,<sup>42</sup> to oversee formal decrees with his pen, to imbibe by listening through the pleasure of his words all that, in accord with what the Commander of the Believers has delegated to him. He made his delegation, and obligated him to learn from him that he would be the best lord in carrying out each way (*sunna* of the Prophet) and obligation. He also connected their names together with that of the Commander of the Believers upon the tops of the pulpits, bestowing upon him some of his power, as he gave him the most awesome burdens.

Our master the Sultan sat in the Great Hall adjacent to the Citadel mosque to swear people to his son, and I sat before him to swear. None remained without swearing. Our master the Sultan really believed that this son would outlive him, but instead he outlived the latter. [401]

### **Mention of how the days valued our master this Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ**

When his sultanate had been consolidated, and his rule's days were honored, and his father our master the Sultan had the benefits of help, morning and evening at his side and guarding him in the best possible manner, he saw in him [al-Ṣāliḥ] sufficiency to please him, and to complete his work. However, it was not long before his fate came to him, and stripped his aspirations away, so he sickened, until there was no hope for him.

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<sup>41</sup> It may be a double entendre here to mention a frowner (*`ābis*) just before the caliph from the *`abbāsīd* dynasty.

<sup>42</sup> Or to bestow *iqṭā`* fiefs.

His place of safety was taken from him, and the days' misfortunes were not trustworthy, as our master the Sultan became increasingly anxious about him in a way that denied him sleep and gave him insomnia.

His sickness was liver dysentery, and the medicine necessitated that he be treated with red rubies. Such was our master the Sultan's care for him that he ripped the signet ring from him his hand, and ordered them to take his stone, which was a Bahramān ruby, the best of the mine, of which it is said that its value was 10,000 dinars, so it was ground up immediately, even though, by God, it did not avail, as fate had inserted its talons, rendering any amulet (*tamīma*) useless.

Our master the Sultan continued to try to redeem him, and the prayers of "taking refuge" rose for him, but anxiousness (appeared)<sup>43</sup> for him as long as he was not able to cease wanting to return him, and to do something for him. When he had done what he could, and he had God's mercy in abundance, he sunk into patience and fortitude, losing his son to God Most High, [402] and that which he had earned through what was said "He is afflicted by remaining" so when this befell—"what do I have to do with affliction?"

Our master the Sultan departed from him, saying farewell, as he was going early to his treasury with God parting, and did not commit anything publicly in his memory, nor in his thoughts other than intercessory prayer, and saying "may God have mercy upon him" privately. Grief for noble horses is not like grief for man, and he did not pray over his grave, nor doubt that God gave him an out through patience from this matter. He was buried at the line of the Lady Nafīsa's Shrine, and the deputies of our master the Sultan busied themselves with eulogizing him, and commemorating his abundant piety.

I said eulogizing him:

*Truly I say, though my words will never reach the loss of hopes,  
While I weep bitterly, feeding myself with continuous weeping like chains,  
Scratching the two cheeks, slapping, bewailing, causing pain to right and  
left ears,  
I bewail the announcement, though this is forbidden, other than for the loss  
of the noble, the precious,  
I tremble from my garments being ripped, even if I am found without dis-  
tress' décor,  
Or has not `Alā' al-Dīn gone to his grave, a hostage to stones and sand?  
Taking oblivion as an abode, in spite of us, alone from his company and  
family, [403]  
O tomb, you have become high in status; not merely a standing-place, but a  
high standing-place!*

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<sup>43</sup> Uncertain.

*A piece of liver gained control over him,<sup>44</sup> who was brought up at the hand  
of glory and guidance,  
You have departed from us in a place of anxiety because you dwelt in a land  
of fearfulness,  
Nay, let no spirit attack thinking the grave and the hand of dominion are  
empty,  
Your name comes before that of your redeeming father in precious stones  
on pulpits,  
Neighs there were when you reached it, as you let go its reins, because of  
majesty,  
Misfortunes plagued you, reckoning them after the shadows joust with loss,  
Swords of your victory are unsheathed to defend him from you on the day  
of struggle,  
Bows of your arrows your enemies shot piercing skillfully through time,  
It weighs heavily upon us that it is a eulogy after a praise-poem that con-  
firms the words,  
Or that we mouth in remembrance of your death what ill befits detail and  
prettifying,  
Black garments you have made into pens, which have begun weeping with  
tears flowing like rain showers,  
Yes, and you blackened the inkstands in grief, regretting the passing and  
coming of might,  
If you could be redeemed, I would with that majesty which I hold dear,  
Wealth would be worthless compared to you—how different are spirits than  
wealth!  
If an army could have defended you, it would have hastened to raise your  
fate to the heights,  
The angel of god-fearingness appeared to you, and for this the best of cham-  
pions is usual, [404]  
Tomorrow be firm, as your death proclamation has arrived to him, as you  
will have need of firmness for the horrors,  
King of time, and noble one because of the victory given going forward,  
al-Mālik [sic!, the possessor] al-Manṣūr, and the king who both came as  
stallions, unbridled,  
Rising in rulership over those who had taken the realms during the past,  
The childless (ʿaqīm) king had laid the foundation,<sup>45</sup> shepherding by awe;  
those who terrorize do not shepherd,  
His merits proceeded like the sun, or returned in their fame as proverbs,  
Giving immediately a gift to the one who hopes; never, never slowly,  
Being generous with the precious full moon as a gift, who was not satisfied  
with measly giving,*

<sup>44</sup> al-Ṣāliḥ is said to have died of liver dysentery.

<sup>45</sup> In actuality al-Ṣāliḥ did have a son, the emir Muzaffar al-Dīn Mūsā.

*Father of cubs, in his standing firm, beyond that which happened to him at his death,  
 They raised a young goat, while raised the value until one could measure his might by an example,  
 Towards the future his root will bear fruit; the root renders fruit that continues from it by consecutive years,  
 Raising the realm the flags remain raised as long as a plant desires pouring rain for life. [405]*

### **Mention of how our master the Sultan left a school and a hospital in protected Cairo**

When God gathered the lands' realms for our master the Sultan, and established his interest towards what he would accomplish—every settled and nomadic person—aiding him with His victory, and leading the enemies to him with his resolution's domination, he turned to initiating those things that were good which he had intended, and advanced towards that which had been on his mind, that from which he had been distracted, and had put off.

This was that he had vowed to himself to construct a hospital in protected Cairo, to initiate it in a beautiful form from which proverbs would be coined, and would be used as an example. He went to his mamluk and the administrator of his dynasty, the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Shujā`ī, who was possessed of strong resolution, and in everything hoped for was quick, and had a terrifying countenance and caused fear among the Chancellery bureaucrats.

Therefore, he went to the merchant house among the properties of the Treasury, known for housing the Quṭbiyya Abode, which had become vacant with the death of those descendants of rulers who had been in it. This was a large extensive court (*dār*), part of the rights of the River Palace (al-Qaṣr al-Baḥrī)<sup>46</sup> which had been laid out by the leader Jawhar<sup>47</sup> for the Maghribī Tamīm Ma`dd.<sup>48</sup> [406]

He built there a hospital, beautiful of construction, pleasant to lodge in, glorious to view, nice to tell about, with wide halls, many different types of embellishments, water being poured forth, and delightful constructions. He assigned to it a large number of charitable endowments in Egypt and Syria, which could not be outdone, and was not less than 1,000,000 dirhams for a year. [407]

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<sup>46</sup> Lewicka notes (p. 406 n. 4) that this must be a mistake for *al-qaṣr al-gharbī* (the Western Palace).

<sup>47</sup> Jawhar al-Siqillī, the great Fātimid conqueror, who founded Cairo.

<sup>48</sup> Fātimid caliph al-Mu`izz (952–75), during whose reign Egypt had been conquered.

When it was finished, our master the Sultan personally descended to it, and sat in the honored place in its southern hall,<sup>49</sup> among his dynasty's (*dawla*) emirs, and the defenders of his realm. A goblet of his drink (*sharāb*) was brought to him, so he grasped it with his hand, then said, while the four [Islamic legal rites'] judges were present, at his drinking "Testify that I have endowed this hospital from those like me [in rank] to those who are below me." Then he bestowed robes upon his functionaries, and rose to the school that was adjacent to it. [408]

### Mention of the matter of this school and what happened as to its construction

This school was among the additions of the emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Shujā'ī, which our master the Sultan had not ordered. He had not intended anything other than the hospital, to acquire his reward and to be connected to it. When our master the Sultan departed from the hospital—he almost did not enter it out of aversion—and because it was finished, but then he did enter it after he had taken his time. Everything that was secret about it, he wanted to make public.

He sat near its prayer-niche (*mihṛāb*), while its lecturer the Chief Judge Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn al-Khū'ī sat, (and they initiated study)<sup>50</sup> agreeing upon an arcane issue, which was the verse upon which they had agreed to study in its exegesis, which was His Word, Most High, "No one knows its interpretation except God. And (as for) the ones firmly grounded in knowledge..."<sup>51</sup> The Chief Judge said "The learned differ over the charitable endowment (*waqf*) with regard to this verse, as some say: Charitable endowments are to God, but others say: It is not permitted to endow to God."

Our master the Sultan rose, and said "Why (*lesh*) aren't endowments to God permitted? How can you depart without a reward?" He believed because of his Turkish (language) and his partial understanding (*ghutamīyya*) that this discussion was concerning that which he had endowed.

Therefore, he departed to the cupola that was prepared for sheltering him, filling it with his firm repentance, while the circumstances' tongue [409] implored him, and then congratulating it as a home, while the interior of the tomb was empty. In its hall, you have a place to sit, which is a cupola of which the ceiling surface has been raised, while it flashes giving off light, and its marble is beautiful.

The Qur'ān reciters multiplied, with those mentioning God crowding around. Their sustenance was plentiful, as its due was specified, and its

<sup>49</sup> Lewicka notes (p. 407 n. 9) that this location is not identifiable.

<sup>50</sup> Insertion from the margin.

<sup>51</sup> Q3:7.

horizon glittered with rewards, with the one who paid thousands of dinars for this construction—what pens could not count, and the imagination comprehend—the one who agreed to its construction from the sultanic felicity that the house which was constructed as a school was among the total of the aforementioned palace.

An emir called Qarāsunqur al-Mu`izzī used to dwell in it, but greed led him to seek marriage from one of the slave-girls of Shajar al-Durr, the concubine of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, the son of the Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil, may God envelope the both of them in His mercy, and may thanks of past and present be charity for the both of them, compensating them in the best of His gardens (paradise).

This slave-girl was the treasurer for Shajar al-Durr, so when the latter was killed, and thrown from the Citadel walls, this slave-girl made off with all of her wealth, and vastly improved her situation. So when this al-Mu`izzī desired her, in that he was greedy in wanting to marry her, but she rejected him. All and sundry were amazed at this, so when she feared that he would assault her, taking her wealth, and he wouldn't do well [410] with her wealth, she buried it, and then she died, and he died.

Years passed, so when it was mandated that this house be demolished so that the school be built, one of the workmen found this small compact potash box, so he concealed it in his sleeve, and hid it from his fellows. Then they began to dig, and they found a large boiler (*qumqum*) filled with pure gold (*ibrīz*).

They were not able to hide it because of its size, so the matter came to the attention of the emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Shujā`ī. He then summoned (the first workman), broke its seal, and then sealed the small potash box. As for the boiler, it was filled with gold, but as for the small potash box it was filled with jewels. Immediately the emir `Alam al-Dīn summoned the jewelers and took an estimate.

One who picked it up informed me that the value of what was found would cover the cost of this construction: the hospital, the holy cupola and the school several times over. This was only part of our master the Sultan's felicity, and good recompense that was a foretaste of the next world's recompense. [411]

### **Mention of a great [...] <sup>52</sup> removed by our master the Sultan**

The people were in dire straits because of a *zakāt* [charity tax] matter that God Most High had never enjoined, which was called *zakāt al-dawlaba* that impoverished the merchants, so it was rescinded. However, the effects were not rescinded, and houses were destroyed, as it was an established *zakāt* levied

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<sup>52</sup> Presumably a word like “wrong” or “evil.”

each year without (religious) obligation nor one to gather it, and the merchant would be humiliated.

The merchants' association was of no use with regard to its injustice, as it was collected from them. Wives would be taken prisoner because of their husbands' absconding, so when our master the Sultan began to rule he revoked its proclamation, wiped out its name, and removed its brand, writing a rescript for it, which was read from the pulpits. He ripped up what the ledgers contained, and may our master the Sultan treasure up its wage for the Last Day. [412]

### **Mention of what he granted as well**

Wealth from the regions and lands during this Sa'īdī interval<sup>53</sup> had been driven as a whole, and the lands in their produce, as its peasants had been treated wrongfully and had returned to being fallow. So he issued an amnesty in its totality, the lands were resettled, and the servants (Muslims) were given security after its weight was removed. Rescripts went out concerning what had been granted, and the tongues of preachers rang and shouted from the pulpits' woods. [413]

### **Mention of our master the Sultan's reluctance to spill blood**

Our master the Sultan was not used to spilling blood, nor did he transgress against God of old. He only ordered what the Muḥammadan Divine Law (*sharī'a*) ordered, and when something of that was presented, he brought the religious leaders according to the different legal rites (*madhāhib*), asking them for an opinion concerning a given issue. [414]

### **Mention of some of our master the Sultan's stable leadership**

Kings in their travels continue, when they depart searching for a place to stop, lead under standards for a short time, but would be destroyed leading a miniscule number of their intimates under them for hunting and the chase (*qanṣ*) (they would slip away from their hunt, just as a bird slips away from the chase),<sup>54</sup> other than our master the Sultan.

He was never satisfied with this lightness, nor did he fly with this clumsiness<sup>55</sup> but from campsite to campsite would not be separated from his flags, nor was he ever seen to be lacking in his camels. He stayed in his dominion as long as he stayed, not going to the baths, nor going to Alexandria, nor going

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<sup>53</sup> During the period 677–9/1277–9.

<sup>54</sup> Insertion from the margin.

<sup>55</sup> Following Lewicka's suggestion.



deep into the desert for the chase. His experience, good judgment, training, and habit stopped him from doing this. Nor did he ever journey to Syria pointlessly, nor depart without having an enemy as a goal, nor did a traveling companion with him complain.

He was clement, may God immortalize his rule, as much as he gave, and perfected his words with meaning. He did well in friendliness, and God could not deny his being entrusted with His creation and creatures. [415]

### **Mention of [...] our master the Sultan of what was of general benefit**

In the Buḥayra districts there were lands which the Nile would not reach, the regular flow did not arrive for years, and its being parched continued for days, with the lack of irrigation expecting for something to sink in, or even for one to set its blessings in motion. Treasures of wealth were empty because of it, and barns were closed at the onset (of the season) since their insides lacked stores.

When our master the Sultan learned of this loss of benefit, and kings' negligence in administering its irrigation because of not seeing it, and the acts of contemplation [...] <sup>56</sup> correct view of it, and this was nothing but God's demonstrating favor to our master the Sultan with his goodness, and storing it up. This is because he followed its way (*sunna*).

Immediately our master the Sultan's order proceeded in writing to the governor of the districts to assemble the bondservants, and the expert engineers. He would ride personally, and investigate from where the water could be directed to irrigate these lands, both from the lower and higher parts of the district, and to look closely to redirect the water from its channels.

Immediately this governor hastened to fulfill the written orders, and departed leading those specified to follow each appointed portion. His advance team arrived, which contained the apportionment that the "mouth" would be dug at a place called al-Ṭīriyya, and accompanying that were supervision by experts in that. Therefore, our master the Sultan [416] hastened personally leading his army, the emirs of his dynasty, and the personal guard (*khāṣakiyya*) in his service, and headed towards the districts. The dry land and water were already garrisoned by his armies to take this opportunity, and to remove this obstacle.

I was among his intimates as a secretary of the roll, so I saw him raising himself from the sun to the shade, while the emirs of his dynasty and personal guard of his mamluks were decked out with flags to wait in the mud and earth, dirtying those glorious pictures with the mud, even if that was what they were created from!<sup>57</sup> God has blessed those who begin as the most beautiful of His awe-inspiring creatures at the time when I saw those special bodies turned grey with its dirtiness, as the cleanliness of its white changed through its being stained, then not stained.

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<sup>56</sup> An entire line obliterated.

<sup>57</sup> Q6:3.

I said: the beloved is not pleased by an idol of silver when there is fresh clothing other than because the eye is filled with its beauty, but the eye itself is not filled with anything other than dirt. Our master the Sultan continued until he drew water, and there was no need to carry it, he spoke well until it was smoothed, and the water flowed even in return (to irrigate). He came to the felicity of the water's pathway, and then triumphed over it, having the most felicitous outcome. He then returned to the seat of his realm, having left traces of what would perpetuate his memory for the following days, and would make gratitude because of his blessing specific, even for the cattle.<sup>58</sup> [417]

### Mention of what was decided about Acre after the truce

The cursed Franks continued under the shadow of this cease-fire (*muwāda`a*) until their lives were ended by its being cut short, being established in life's ease until the wrong of their depending upon it concluded by its being disturbed. Our master the Sultan was totally unaware until it reached him that the Franks of Acre had overcome a group of Muslim merchants and others in it, killing them. In relation to most of them, they thought them to be few.

Immediately our master the Sultan issued a command, and then wrote to them, disapproving of them, and informing them that this was in contravention of their truce agreement, negating cordial relations. A letter from their commanders arrived that it had happened that "the Franks and the Muslims had joined in a drinking festival (*mashraba*), and drunkenness had caused them to quarrel. We came to them to arrest a number of the Franks who were at the drinking festival, and hung them."

The answer that was returned to them was in the form "It is true that you hung [them], but the Muslims, and us are coming at God Most High's will too, so prepare hospitality."

Then our master the Sultan summoned his privy council emirs, and conducted a discussion with them concerning raiding the group because of this dissension, and attacking them because of this provocation in which they were concealing themselves behind the truce. The emirs reviewed the truce's language, which was only obligated by oaths, and was lowered to the level of a safe conduct, containing an agreement. Keeping the agreement is part of the oaths.

Our master the Sultan turned to the Chief [418] of the Correspondence Chancellery Faḥ al-Dīn to follow up the truce as perhaps would be revealed upon which to rely in attacking the group [the Franks], and hint at it. In a present issue there would be something that would justify punishing them, not merely smoothing over the deviation with a threat, as a deviation is not like something continuous. I had written their truce, and I had a copy of it, so I met together with his father, the head Muḥyī al-Dīn [Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir], and him, so the truce was read from beginning to end a number of times.

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<sup>58</sup> A double entendre.

The head Muḥyī al-Dīn determined that there was no loophole (*fusha*) in it, nor anything that would necessitate reinterpreting it, either from its plain or secretive meanings, so he turned to me and said, "What do you say?" I said, "We are working with the intention of our master the Sultan. If it should be abrogated (*faskh*), then there is a loophole which would necessitate its abrogation; but if he does not intend to abrogate it, then go with the plain meaning which would not necessitate its rewriting."

Our master the Sultan said, "It is their responsibility," wishing if only he could be aided by a bird's wings to fly to them, so I said "Our master is thinking of this clause from the truce, which states that 'the merchants and travelers, and those passing back and forth are safe, defended from both parties during the course of their traveling, their staying, their going and their coming.' This is the text of the clause which is contained by the truce."

So I said to him

Those are they who intended towards the merchants what they intended, so the truce's stipulation with regard to their overlooking the matter has been violated, unless there is a clear evidence on the part of those Muslim deputies who are in charge of dealing with complaints.

He said, "The deputies' letters have arrived that the matter was not like that, as they forbade it, and the Muslims were those who were hung." Therefore, I said, "With that ruling, the truce is abrogated." [419]

When our master the Sultan gave the ruling about its abrogation, then he resolved to not let time turn him back from the road, nor coming fate that carries each heart to a target it had not intended. Our master the Sultan hurried outside of protected Cairo, camping at the Straw Mosque among his armies, which filled the ravines, and exceeded the number of waves in the seas.

However, at that camp a sickness of blood flow camp over him, so he stayed for days, then finished off in his camp, with the fates collecting him from his camp. Skins without hearts split for him, the mountains melted, not hearts, swords were bent, not backs, spears were broken, not chests, and the arrival of this news was bad. His fate was preordained at this camping place, and his time had come while his death was in this cleft at that period. How many were his cares, and yet how few! Whosoever has their fate foreordained at a certain land, could never have died in any other.

He was placed in a coffin (*tābūt*), and carried up to his Citadel, where it gloomy because of his return. He continued there until his son the felicitous martyr Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl's rule stabilized, and his sultanate became complete. He held fast, deciding the matter of his dominion, acted decisively, and then was transported to his sacred cupola in protected Cairo [420] at night. The people then let go mourning, so God had mercy upon that pure spirit, granting him the level of the highest companion, which is the most that one can hope for.

I said eulogizing him:

*It is fate with stratagems, while stratagems repel its steps from the one whose time has come,  
 How many a situation (with people) wavering between hope and hopelessness without him abandoning,  
 How much you have deprived those receiving kindness, how you have left in tears, guarded from stop to stop,  
 Never having left anyone without those ill or thirsty having drunk deeply from its cups,  
 Named the one who gives hope to this world, and hastens to provision it for the next,  
 While death takes care of the man, taking him while he is heedless, deceived and unprepared, [421]  
 Without averting his eyes one day from the dominion because of his might; had he been redeemed, horses and bondservants were abundant,  
 How many kings other than him were protected by a sword quick to find fault, but their armies did not protect them,  
 In his resolution he spent the night, while his targets feared, being very cautious of him, drenched in fear,  
 Not differentiating a youth in taking spirits, defending high in status and (those) made lowly,  
 Where are the high ones building up properties, and conquering locked cities, on plain and mountain?  
 Where are those who built the Pyramids, taking care to preserve them from the vicissitudes and deficiencies?  
 Where are those who we saw in existence from religions and sects, having wondrous (constructions)?  
 Where is the owner who yesterday his struggle concerned his descriptions, and lack, while the sunset approached?  
 How many of the people witnessed him in his processions, of which the ears, tongue and eyes were filled?  
 Awesomeness of dominion, its high point is the highest of the realms of that built upon the blade,  
 He was the one knowing time's diseases, he had superiority in knowledge, setting action into motion,  
 Walking to war like a greybeard, enjoying being borne to conflict from victory's pleasure,  
 The Battle of Hims and his staying firm in it would have sufficed, as this world would have been shaken by our cowardice,  
 Conquering castles would have sufficed, those which many a king was unable to conquer,  
 How beautiful it was as a sword for his dynasty, as it if it was a blaze upon all the dynasties,*

*It would, without exaggeration, serve until its mention passed among the people as a proverb,  
 I am constrained because of death to be resurrected until a time in which I can show him this world,  
 I weep, and mourn for one whose word this is, while we are now with livers more rough than camels,  
 My sorrow over him, it has hit hard, while encompassing people, both bare-foot and with shoes, [422]  
 Every heart has become a storehouse of grief after losing him [...] <sup>59</sup>  
 Bowels concealing a fire, completing the burning among the overflow of tears, such as the cause of a downpour,  
 If he is not removed from his dominion by death, he has a dominion with the god that will continue,  
 In the paradise of eternity at the highest palaces, upon the highest thrones, garbed in the noblest garments,  
 He is the felicitous one, as the Felicitous One promised him both worlds, this one and the next,  
 Past and future living among us because of his way, happy for the best of paths, Stopping up those breaches after him due to time, if he takes his place with kingly provisions,  
 al-Ashraf is the king who was tasked with protecting him from the cutting swords, and the hive's shell,  
 The martyr [Qalāwūn] designated him in a way that tells of his situation; the situation in detail and totality,  
 Therefore, God may perpetuate his rule forever, without anyone coveting it from him through all time.*

When God ordained what He ordained for our master the Sultan, and his son al-Malik al-Ashraf took upon himself his target with acceptance and satisfaction, he completed his filial duty in that he would not squander the effort of his father—even though God had already written his reward, and given generously for his duty.

Whoever goes forth from his house, emigrating to God and His messenger (and) then death overtakes him—his reward falls on God (to pay). Surely God is forgiving, compassionate.<sup>60</sup>

Then our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf was determined, so led his father's armies that he had prepared to uproot it [Acre], and provisioned them for the struggle.

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<sup>59</sup> Blurred words.

<sup>60</sup> Q4:100.

He attacked it according to the level of his father's preparation for besieging it, and wrote to the deputies to get ready to lay siege of it. Therefore, he found the matters ready for his departure, as the mangonels had already been prepared, and [423] provisioned.

He raided it in actuality, as his father, may God have mercy upon him, did in intention, as he acted according to his father's testament, then carried it out, continuing to respect him in a filial manner. It (Acre) did not stand in front of his mangonels, nor was it able to stand firm than as long as he crushed it with by his night attack, and uprooted it completely, dispersed its company, removed its burden from the Islamic lands, razed it to the ground, fulfilling the way (*sunna*) and the obligation during him and his father's year of raiding, making it a harvest as if they never were there yesterday, leaving their covenant (*mu`āhid*) status prostrate on the ground. It was as if Satan harmed them with his touch, leaving its ruins for the owl, and making it into a lesson for those enemies of God, the Franks, who would pass by it—those who the last of their destruction is related concerning the Rūm (Byzantines).<sup>61</sup>

Concerning this raid, the meritorious head Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir said, congratulating the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf:

*Victory was sent to the lands through the post, overreaching even the Tihāma and its Najds [= high plateaus],<sup>62</sup>*

*With conquest we have seen up close, while the Cross Religion sees them from afar,*

*Your tidings said the enemies' swords you have sharpened into chains and fetters,*

*That this Khalīl al-Malik al-Ashraf your Sultan has aided all creation,*

*Coming to Acre to besiege it, and then calling out, while the people of atheism became tombs,<sup>63</sup>*

*How could their walls continue to exist when the tunnels (underneath) made the top of the pickaxes black?*

*How many a threat from him to the unbelievers made them forget fasts and threats? [424]*

*However, he struck them with incoming unwavering arrows on the liver and jugular vein,*

*Their army was in the flag-storehouse; he said: they feared when they saw (real) flags—*

<sup>61</sup> There are a great many apocalyptic references in this selection; the prophecies about the coming destruction of the Rūm were current in Syria from the Umayyad and early `Abbāsīd period. The role of the owl as a precursor of doom can be traced back to pre-Islamic times, and was current in apocalyptic imagery into the Ottoman period.

<sup>62</sup> In southern Arabia.

<sup>63</sup> A pun in Arabic.

*To be named brothers, as we had already parted some from them, so they  
 would be called slaves,  
 O hearers, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn has been returned to conquer these his conquests,  
 Inhabitants of Tyre, and likewise Sidon, Sidon welcomed them for being  
 (present),  
 If all of them attempted a trick, his sword would not be satisfied with being  
 tricked,  
 He shepherded in its conquest for his father, and all creatures, keeping  
 promises,  
 Did not angels and kings render him aid, bolstering his armies and troops?  
 A gathering opened the heavens for them, filling it and the earth,  
 A raid in which security increased over the earth as a barrier and a coat of  
 mail,  
 Mecca thanks Acre for conquest as in it there is a wonderful accomplish-  
 ment and return,  
 What a raid! What destruction! She said, good for those who die in you as  
 martyrs,  
 God has written mention of it in the histories, and there it will stay forever,  
 Right guidance was made mighty in it, while the inhabitants of Acre were  
 humiliated, and wished they could become Jews,  
 Paying the poll-tax, becoming prisoners or being transformed into apes,<sup>64</sup>  
 To how many churches she said I am not a land for your gods to be  
 worshipped,  
 O most majestic of kings, O most noble (ashraf) of creation; from his gen-  
 erosity creation is blessed,  
 Thanking God as your raid against unbelief, you showed us your praised  
 status,  
 Angels long for it, coming one after another to join in support, [425]  
 You made us dispatch unbelief in the tunnels, returning belief to a new  
 creation,  
 How many people in it you have made to burn, while the stones are rough,  
 dense?  
 Together with mangonels that do not deviate coming in, and tunnels which  
 cannot be turned away in arrival,  
 How many of them were sent, and it said let them seek refuge or they should  
 be (hit by) stones or iron,  
 How many novices from it struck novices; how many ungodly from it an-  
 swered the ungodly,  
 Waking them from the beds and sitting as if it thinks this is the Resurrection  
 for God,*

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<sup>64</sup> Cf. Q2:65, 5:60.

*Had the Cross (ṣalīb) speech, it would cry out: You, O mangonel, are harder (aṣlab) than wood!*  
*You are more worthy to take vengeance (thā'r) for me upon those who have lied about me, and increased denials,*  
*How many men it showed them flung aside, and showed expelled from the congestion to us,*  
*You had agreements that were overlooked, but the battering-rams delivered knotted ropes to the towers,<sup>65</sup>*  
*How many meadows and fields (there are), from which they come early to the towers, showing hatred,*  
*How many of its walls supported evil, and its stones perpetuated going astray,*  
*Whoever comes to him saying: This is death; truly, no one can avoid it,<sup>66</sup>*  
*Whoever sees it says the clouds have been made stones, while the whizzing seems to be thunder,*  
*Pounding the breaches among the battlements, overlooking the openings ascending,*  
*Then coming, without telling, growing great branches, just as what are called lambskins,<sup>67</sup>*  
*Every arrow from it, suddenly they stand still for it like daybreak had made it a column,*  
*If only it had the security of pigeon's loftiness, then both would raise trilling for loss,*  
*How an enemy surrounds its weepers, while the enemies shout [...]<sup>68</sup> [426]*  
*What a number of pregnant women scarified, when she at the same time is giving birth,*  
*How at Tell al-Fuḍūl barriers are thrown down, while at the Oxen Gate the plants are dried up,*  
*The skins creep from it,<sup>69</sup> when they see it, even when they are clothed,*  
*All of this with the felicity of the most noble (ashraf) king, may God increase him in capacity and felicity,*  
*A king who leaves the treasuries in generosity and fills the land with provisions and numbers,*  
*How many (purses)<sup>70</sup> has he emptied, while all of them became poor and deprived,*

<sup>65</sup> A double entendre on `uqūd.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Q33:16.

<sup>67</sup> Apparently describing the process of putting mats or skins in front of the walls.

<sup>68</sup> A blurred word.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Q39:23.

<sup>70</sup> Insertion from the margin.



*Woe, God killed them when every tunnel came up, then assaulted them as  
 ditches,<sup>71</sup>  
 They destroyed the righteous mosque in it (Acre),<sup>72</sup> so what struck down  
 Thamūd has come to them,<sup>73</sup>  
 In it the destruction of `Ād came again, with them humiliated, while the  
 believers were witnesses,  
 An amazement, O Khaḫīl, your fire was coolness,<sup>74</sup> while it roasted the  
 ungodly Franks,  
 God fulfilled his promise to you with victory, and to the believers, the loftiest  
 of goals,  
 So thank God, and take the opportunity for victory, hastening to Tyre and  
 Sidon with destruction,  
 You, O son of the victorious one, another one has come to you at night  
 urging the post,  
 You continue to be a refuge for the people, a light for creation, and a thresh-  
 old for all existence.<sup>75</sup> [427]*

And I said also, congratulating him on this raid, and I wrote to him about it:

*The fates dictated for you to raise your flag, so indicating to you a mighty  
 victory,  
 Your awesomeness which you were given by fear, lifted you to what the  
 Helpers never did,  
 When you camped a vanguard against the Franks, they were bewildered at  
 what their eyes witnessed, and were perplexed,  
 Their strength melted away when you came with an army filling the waste-  
 land and desert, then they bowed low,  
 You approached while the Turks around you were stars, and your face's  
 perfection was a travelling full moon,  
 You were endowed with pride, awesomeness, majesty, tranquility and dignity,  
 They desired to flee, as they had already seen what terrified them, that there  
 would only be escape through perishing,*

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Q85:1.

<sup>72</sup> Ibn Jubayr, *Rihla* (Beirut: Dār al-Sharq al-`Arabī, n.d.), p. 237; trans. Broadhurst, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr* (London: Goodwood, 2004, reprint), p. 318 states that during the first Crusader period in Acre there was a small mosque inside the main church.

<sup>73</sup> Thamūd was one of the two Arab tribes destroyed by God in the Qur`ān, cf. Q27:45 and 20:16 (use of the verb *ardā*).

<sup>74</sup> Story of Abraham in the Qur`ān, who was the "friend" (*khaḫīl*) of God, who was put into a fire, whereupon God said "Fire! Be coolness and peace for Abraham!" (Q21:69).

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Q18:18; *waṣīda(n)* as a double entendre could be read as Sidon.

*You prostrated, while beside you the earth kissed which [...] your helmets..  
the walls,  
You visited them in the morning, while their homes were occupied [...]  
Their wives called to them, when you camped against them, longing for long  
life,  
Your swords were satisfied with necks, so their bodies danced while the  
heads scattered,  
From their blood you made torrents, which flowed in every direction as rivers,  
Nights of unbelief were wiped white, and to the eye of the on-lookers, be-  
came day,  
Their dwellings all became ruins, wasteland; homes were no longer found  
there,  
They asked their kings to send aid, "Have you see a spirit being led to  
destruction?"  
From every ethnicity bands came to them, filling the dry land and seas with  
them,  
By your sword they came to a well-watered stop, one not concealed for the  
comer, [428]  
They left while cups of changing fortune with Mashrafi<sup>76</sup> and Ashrafi  
revolved around them,  
If they had sought peace, they would have received it, but they vied for  
power, so great matters they were not able to handle occurred,  
Did they see an impregnable fortress, with its empty space before it, and its  
protected area unviolated by a siege,  
However, when the judgment passed in an open (battle) space, vision was  
blinded from guidance,  
Their great overwhelming pride without measure became humiliated,  
Their kings went up, and having been besieged in it, after their might were  
humiliated and laid low,  
They betrayed covenants, and whoever betrays (a covenant) his recompense  
is woe, being taken, and destruction,  
They broke the mutual truce, under which there was rest, there was no harm-  
ing in it,  
The martyr intended to go against them, as the One, the Compeller, had  
ruled against them,  
You were left by him, and how good you are as a legatee (= caliph), as  
thoughts are confused by his glory,  
It was extinguished by your conquest, so virgins were deflowered from it,  
and how many virgins it concealed!  
Days of besieging them were shortened with you—why not, when days of  
happiness are short?*

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<sup>76</sup> A famous type of sword.

Your armies surrounded it, as if it were only a wrist, while they a bracelet  
 around it,  
 When the mangonels spoke to it, they came early at its walls, knocking the  
 stones,  
 These raiders have been marked down, and written about, discussed in their  
 night-conversations,  
 There is no covenant during the past years like it, while it has corruption  
 spewed out from all directions,  
 Glad tidings, this is the beginning of victory that they performed for the  
 Muslims as an example,  
 These are the conquests of which we have never heard the like; no, nor have  
 reports come of them,  
 There is no fortress like Acre, because it is the Mother of Villages,<sup>77</sup> which  
 the unbelievers defile, [429]  
 It was a seat of a realm having become by its fortification among the most  
 difficult,  
 How many kings in the past were on the verge of conquering it, but a fierce  
 flame turned it away,  
 They died in their rage,<sup>78</sup> and how many from beyond them faced obstacles,  
 all of which were deceptions,  
 Until al-Ashraf the king came to it, which (both) the Franks and the Tatars  
 fear his might,  
 The breasts of the believers were refreshed by its conquest, and let the (gar-  
 rison) cities boast in his raiding,  
 Covenants and lands are being truly returned to the Muslims by his sword  
 and spear-tip,  
 Sooner or later, his predatory army will rule the whole earth, east and west,  
 A king whose liberal gifts are for those who aspire to immortality, scattering  
 them like rain,  
 His right hand drags the gifts from the heavens for those who draw the  
 sword, when they pour forth copiously,  
 The poor have become rich because of his blessing, so his house is like that  
 of the rich, guided to it, and visited,  
 Tomorrow you have [...]

Giving thousands [...] smiling [...] proclaiming about him because of his  
 generosity,

What shall I said, when description of him, and praise of him cannot be  
 contained in a poem?

May God cause his dominion to continue as long as hands caress branches,  
 and birds sing.

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<sup>77</sup> Cf. Q42:7 said about Mecca; compare the nexus between Mecca and Acre in Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir's poem above.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Q3:119.

## Text 4 (a)

### ZUBDAT AL-FIKRA FĪ TĀ' RĪKH AL-HIJRA

### CREAM OF THOUGHT CONCERNING THE HISTORY ACCORDING TO THE HIJRA

### Baybars al-Manṣūrī

*The importance of the dawādār (secretary) Baybars al-Manṣūrī's work as a historical source for the period of Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf can hardly be overstated, as he was personally participant in the events of the time. His three works, Zubdat al-fikra, al-Tuḥfa al-mulūkiyya, and Mukhtār al-akhbār will all be translated here in this order (sections dealing with Qalāwūn and al-Malik al-Ashraf).*

*This is Baybars' major world-history in a chronological form, to which he periodically adds personal notes and reminiscences, as well as citing key documents. As a writer, Baybars is nowhere near as florid and bombastic as Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir or Shafī, and is capable, in spite of his admiration for Qalāwūn, of periodic critical commentary. His interests, like those of Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir, in this work, cover the entirety of what he sees as the Muslim world, and even include some information about distant locations such as Morocco. There is also a surprising amount of information about the Mongols, especially the Golden Horde (probably because of the Mamluk economic interest), and even Qubilai Khan receives attention. However, he demonstrates little of Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir's interest in Europe or even in closer Crusader territories such as Cyprus. Comparatively, there are few Crusaders named, and one should note that the Genoan truce and the Ethiopian embassy both described by Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir are not reproduced here, nor is there mention of the Venetians meeting with al-Ashraf.*

### **Mention of the regime of the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī, who was made a slave (*al-makhdūm*)**

May God envelop him in mercy and favor! Moreover, cause him to dwell in the center of paradise, and recompense him for his treating us well, and the world, with an excess of goodness. May He make firm the foundations of his noble house, and build it up, strengthen the supports of his offspring with His aid, and affirm them. May his supporters' beliefs' unity be continual, and may he render it aid by His instruments, and support it, in the year 678 [1279].

The author says that he when he was asked about taking power, he answered favorably, and the causes of felicity looked upon him favorably, so he sat upon the sultanic throne at the most felicitous ascendant, and the most praised time, on Sunday, when his enthronement's ascendant was Leo, 22 Rajab in the previously mentioned year [Nov. 28, 1279].

His name was mentioned in the [Friday] sermons, and the proclamation of his sultanate was announced to those far and near. His name was embroidered upon garments' needlework, and his stamp beautified the surface of coinage, while existence was lighted by his rule, and felicitous planets rose with his ascension.

Felicity said to him:

With you I have begun; to you I shall return, while I swear that kingship will continue with him and his offspring, staying hereditarily in his progeny, just as he had a way, until they have conquered (opened) those realms that the hands of aggression have closed off, and have taken vengeance on behalf of belief against unbelief. [175]

### **Mention of his description, his ethnicity and upbringing**

As for his description, he was good-looking, large, well-proportioned, perfect, noble-looking, radiant, beautiful, one of the best looking of all the Turks in form, the most impressive of them, towering over everyone in majesty and self-control, and received a favorable comparison in presence and dignity.

As for his ethnicity (*jins*), he was from the pure Qifjāq (Qipchaq), from a tribe known as Barj Aghlā. When the merchants brought him to the [Egyptian] homelands during the time we mentioned when the Tatars conquered those regions, the emir `Alā' al-Dīn Aqsunqur al-Kāmalī purchased him for 1000 dinars. This expensive price was because of his beauty and his form, so he came to be known as al-Alfī [for 1000] for this reason.

His master's death occurred during the Ṣāliḥī period, so he and a number of his close retinue were returned to being royal mamluks, so all of them came to

be known as al-`Alā`iyya. This was during the year 647 [1249–50], and it was part of the overall regiment of the Baḥriyya which was posted to the Syrian lands, during the course of which they had the events happen which we have already mentioned.

He returned together with al-Malik al-Zāhir [Baybars] and those with the both of them during the Muẓaffarī days<sup>1</sup> to the Egyptian homelands, and they both passed by the Shaykh `Alī, known as al-Bakkā' [the weeper], in the city of Hebron, who informed him of his eventual attainment of this rank. We have mentioned this in previous notes.

His rank rose during the period of al-Zāhir and he achieved high level and a position of power with [Baybars]. Privately al-Zāhir was certain that the kingship would go to him after his death,<sup>2</sup> so he tried to strengthen his [Qalāwūn's] ties to his son. There was a process that we have mentioned of choosing him as an in-law. How beautiful al-Sa`īd was with him by his side, when the right of kinship did not shepherd him; thus what divided the two of them was his [Sa`īd's] lack of justice, and his treatment of him, which was cause for his deviation away from him.

*Lack of justice continues to divide between men, even if they are closely related.*

The martyred Sultan was witness to most of the dangers of his sultanate during the time of his emirate, and it is generally agreed that he had a jurist-prudent muezzin at his door, so one night he saw in his dream as if a caller<sup>3</sup> said, "This Qalāwūn will defeat/break Hūlegū(n)!" So he told the one serving him, may God sanctify his spirit, of this dream, so he said to him, "These are a jumble of dreams"<sup>4</sup> and rebuked him for speaking in such a vein.

When God desired to bring this about, He mounted him upon the realms' saddle, and he was self-controlled, modest about shedding blood, balanced in decisions, and reluctant to harm the innocent. God recompensed him in his progeny and his retinue with the best possible outcome, and raised the status of those who freed him and his courtiers, extending the mention of his mamluks and retainers [176], making them into administrators of matters, leaders for the populace, commanders of the armies and deputies in the realms, and

<sup>1</sup> The reign of Qutuz (1259–60)

<sup>2</sup> According to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma` al-adab*, v, pp. 543–4, Baybars dreamed that the Prophet Muḥammad had given him a sword before he became sultan, but then just before he died, the Prophet took it back from him, and gave it to Qalāwūn, so then upon waking he extracted an oath from the latter to treat his children well after he passed.

<sup>3</sup> Usually understood to be one of the *jinn*.

<sup>4</sup> Q12:44 (story of Joseph).

gave them good opinions and comradeship, guardianship over the house [of Qalāwūn] that which He gave no other.

I have pored over the histories of peoples, and the Arabs' and non-Arabs' modes of conduct, but was unable to find anyone similar to their loyalty or their manner in truth to whom he could be compared. In all that, the martyr had purity of purpose, hope in God for his house's guardianship and support, and for his supporters' and helpers' aid and good judgement. Here I will mention those mamluks who were in his service during his emirate at the time of his sitting upon the throne of his realm.

**Mention** of the names of the most important long-serving royal Maṣūri mamluks, who were in his service from the time of his emirship, and who went through good times and bad:

Emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭuruntāy, emir Zayn al-Dīn Kitbughā, emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn, emir Shams al-Dīn Qarāsunqur, emir 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak *al-khazindār* (treasurer), emir Sayf al-Dīn al-Ṭabbākhī, emir 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Shujā'ī, emir Sayf al-Dīn Quṭuz, emir Rukn al-Dīn al-Ṣayrafī, emir 'Alā' al-Dīn Yaydughdī *al-sāqī* (cup-bearer),<sup>5</sup> emir 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alaq, emir 'Izz al-Dīn al-Jaldakī, emir 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Miṣrī, emir 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar Arjawāsh, emir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭughril *al-musharraf* (the overseer), emir Sayf al-Dīn Qajqār [= Qachqar], emir Badr al-Dīn Bīlīk *al-ṭayyār* (the flyer), emir Sayf al-Dīn Bāzī, emir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭbughā al-Rūsī, [emir 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Mawṣilī],<sup>6</sup> emir Sayf al-Dīn Kāwarkā, emir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭājār, emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Rūsī, emir 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak *al-ṭawīl* (the tall), emir Jamāl al-Dīn Aqush Barnāq, emir Badr al-Dīn Baktūt al-Baḥlāq, emir Sayf al-Dīn Salār, emir Badr al-Dīn Baydarā, emir Sayf al-Dīn Qib-jāq [= Qipchaq],<sup>7</sup> emir Sayf al-Dīn Jāwarshī, emir Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur, *rā's nūba* (head of the watch), emir Jamāl al-Dīn Aqush al-Ashrafī, emir 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar, *amīr akhūr* (shield-bearer), emir 'Izz al-Dīn Aydimur *al-zardkāsh* (armory-engineer), [177] 'Alā' al-Dīn Ṭburs, 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Ṭibars,<sup>8</sup> Badr al-Dīn Kikaldī, [Badr al-Dīn Bīlīk of the garrison], and the writer of this work, Baybars *al-dawādār* (secretary).

Among them were those who rose in the realm, and sat on the seat of the sultanate, among them were those who were appointed governors in the Syrian realms, and the Islamic fortresses, among them were those who rose to the command of 1000, and other positions by which they beautified the ruling sphere, and governed the circumstances of rulership.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly 'Alā' al-Dīn Aydughdī al-Ṣāliḥī al-Najmī, governor of Jerusalem, cf. Muḥīr al-Dīn, *Uns al-jalīl*, ii, p. 270?

<sup>6</sup> Added from the margins by the editor.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Abī Ḥajala, *Sukurdān*, pp. 79–80 about how Qalāwūn foretold his future betrayal of the Mamluks to Ghazan.

<sup>8</sup> Appears to be repeated.

Among his troops and his retainers (*khuddām*) there were those who rose to emirship of the marching band (*ṭablkhānāh*):

Emir `Izz al-Dīn Aydimur al-Jannāhī, emir Sayf al-Dīn al-Ladaq al-Khwārizmī, emir `Izz al-Dīn al-Kūrānī, emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī, emir Shams al-Dīn al-Dikiz, *amīr akhūr* [shield-bearer], `Alā' al-Dīn *al-naqīb*,<sup>9</sup> *al-Ṭawāshī* Shihāb al-Dīn *murshid*, emir Sayf al-Dīn Batkhāṣ/sh al-Aqra`ī, emir Sayf al-Dīn Kabak al-Aqra`ī, and Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Bahādurnī.

As for those royal mamluks who he gained possession of after achieving the sultanate, those he purchased for a high price and bestowed upon them the clothes of goodness, they were, by the end of his rule, somewhat more than 6000 mamluks, possessors of *iqṭā`* fiefs, possessors of monthly pay (*jāmakiyyāt*), emirs of the marching band, those with rank and class. Among them were the Jamdāriyya [regiment], the Khāṣakiyya, the *mafārīda*,<sup>10</sup> the Baḥriyya, the commanders, and the Burjiyya regiments, of which we will describe what we can, and are able to glean, of their reports in the proper places, along with their situation as follows.

Concerning his enthronement the judge Muḥyī al-Dīn `Abdallāh Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir said:

*He ruled as if the sea was filled by his right hand, and as if the sun's light radiated from his forehead,*

*Processions and stars were always guiding radiantly, as it were by his strength and fortification,*

*How much bounty there was for creation in his enthronement, and concern for the truth in his appointment,*

*How the fates said: This is the conqueror of cities! God, increase his ability! This is Qalāwūn; by him Hūlegū's house will perish through his knives and his quiet perseverance. [178]*

### **Mention of what he intended at his enthronement in his council**

His enlightened reign and radiant days opened by that which this world's house was set aright, and the next occupied, by cancelling the *zakat* [Islamically mandated charity] state tax, as it overburdened the subjects, and took them beyond the legal (*shar`ī*) principles. Therefore, he cancelled its jurisdiction, and gave clemency about the proclamation of it, and proclaimed that raising it would be removed from the types of levies. He wrote concerning that to the districts.

<sup>9</sup> A title below that of deputy (*nā'ib*) and governor (*walī*).

<sup>10</sup> Lit. "separate ones." An unclear category; Northrup notes, p. 198, note 275 the possibility that "the *mafārīda* may have been a corps of non-commissioned mamluks who perhaps received *jāmakiyya* (salaries) rather than *iqṭā`*'s." Its position in this group implies, as she states, some level of status.



Then he inspected his mamluks, hangers-on, youths, retainers, and showered them with his bounty, and turned his attention to them, both senior and junior, giving them part of what God had brought to him, and granted them together with himself in that which He had given him. He granted and established every bureaucrat in a position that was appropriate to his abilities, but transferred his supporters gradually, which demonstrated his gravity of mind.

He assigned commands to the first class of his senior mamluks, giving the first 40 horsemen, the second 20 or 15 horsemen, and the third in the tens, and below that of the *iqṭā`* fiefs. They were transferred into increasing numbers with the passing years, and they gained afterwards “*akhbāz*” (bread)<sup>11</sup> in the hundreds, were tested in command, and experienced in administration.

When he was established in the sultanate, he released the emir `Izz al-Dīn Aybak *al-afṛam* al-Ṣāliḥī, and assigned him to be the Sultan’s deputy, but he carried out its duties merely for a few years then asked to be relieved of it, so he relieved him. He then assigned the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, his mamluk, to be deputy. He was energetic, courageous, possessed of high ambition, and sufficient ability.

He did not have good handwriting, nor reading, but he sought aid because of his understanding, his penetrating intelligence, and the power of his felicity. He was good at administration, and keeping order, and God gave him power over the hearts of the elite and the commoners by overawing them. He fulfilled the position of Sultan’s deputy in the best way, and settled the armies in their places according to their ranks, and kept a close eye on the *iqṭā`*s that needed to be watched.

### Mention of the revolt of Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar* in Syria

During it the above arrived at Damascus, in which was the emir Jamāl al-Dīn Aqūsh al-Shamsī, who surrendered it to him. Then he proceeded towards Aleppo, since the Sultan had delegated to him the [position] of sultanic deputy in it. When the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar* settled in Damascus in the month of Jumādā al-Ākhira of this year [November 1279] he mandated the surrender of the castles in the hands of the Zāhirī [era] deputies, and the reorganization of the Manṣūrī [era] ones. Then he arrogated to himself the title of sultan in Syria and its districts, and then an idea came to him: he assembled the emirs around him [179] and he made out that the Sultan had been killed by *qumiz* [alcohol],<sup>12</sup> demanding them to swear an oath to himself, so they did, being certain of the absence of a sultan, and disassociating themselves from the covenants and oaths that were around their necks.

He rode with the sultanic insignia, and named himself al-Malik al-Kāmil, which was on 24 Dhū al-Qa`da [March 27, 1280] of that year.

<sup>11</sup> See Northrup, p. 77, note 78 citing Dozy, meaning an *iqṭā`* fief.

<sup>12</sup> An alcoholic beverage made from fermented milk.

### **Mention of the taking of al-Shawbak from the hands of al-Malik al-Sa`īd**

During it the Sultan dispatched the emir Badr al-Dīn Bīlīk al-Aydimurī from the Egyptian homelands to al-Shawbak, together with an army. This was because al-Malik al-Sa`īd—the Sultan [Qalāwūn] had imposed conditions upon him that he would not correspond with any of the deputies nor provoke corruption with anyone among the armies or those entrusted with castles, and he had taken oaths and covenants upon himself concerning that.

However, when he went to Kerak, those mamluks with him began to play with his mind, and they attracted him to the idea that he would send them to take al-Shawbak, and then the Syrian lands, one by one, and afterwards turn towards the Egyptian homelands. He tended towards their stance, so they induced him to correspond with the deputies, and to send envoys to them, so he did that.

It reached the Sultan, so he wrote to him, reproving him, but the reproof did not avail at all. He sent Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn, the head of the Jamdārī garrison, to al-Shawbak, so he stayed in it, and overpowered it. The Sultan dispatched the above emir Badr al-Dīn, who camped up against it with those with him, and hemmed its people in, who handed it over to him on 10 Dhū al-Qa`da [March 13, 1280] of that year. He assigned `Izz al-Dīn al-Mawṣilī as deputy in it, and then returned from it.

### **Mention of the death of al-Malik al-Sa`īd in Kerak during this year, and his brother Najm al-Dīn Khiḍr taking his place**

During it, the death of al-Malik al-Sa`īd was confirmed. The cause was that he was jousting with staffs (*ṣawālīja*) on the open field of Kerak, when he was thrown from his horse, and was cut, weakened and feverish for a few days, then his death approached, and his days came to a close. The time of his revolt was close to his perishing, and when he died, he stayed embalmed in his coffin for a time, then was carried to the shrine of his father.

His deputy there had been the emir `Alā` al-Dīn Aydimur al-Ḥarrānī al-Zāhirī, who was assigned to the deputyship after the emigration (*muhājara*) of the emir `Alā` al-Dīn Aydakīn al-Fakhrī, who had been the deputy there, to the Maṣūrī sultanic gates. [180] He and those with him were agreed, so they placed his brother in his place, who was given the royal title of al-Malik al-Mas`ūd. When news of his death reached the Sultan, he ordered mourning to take place for him, and gave permission to eulogize and bewail him.

The mamluks around Najm al-Dīn Khiḍr mandated the bad administration, excessive wastage, that powers would return to a state of corruption, with predictably bad results. Therefore, they squandered this money in order to hire, according to their claim, men, desiring to overturn that which was

past, and catch up to that which was missed yonder, but God desired to nullify the basis of the Zāhirī period by promoting the Maṣūrī one.

A group of them proceeded to al-Ṣalt and took it, and they sent to Ṣarmad, but were unable to take it, so they wrote to Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar*, and corresponded with him about an agreement. The scorpions of hypocrisy crept nearer to them, and so the Sultan dispatched the emir `Izz al-Dīn Aybak *al-afrah*, *amīr jāndār* (guard), to Syria, accompanied by some of the army, to besiege Kerak in order to frighten [its people]. He set out during the latter part of Dhū al-Hijja [late April to early May 1280] from the Egyptian homelands traveling via al-Kafrayn, Nimrayn and Jericho.

**During this year** King Abagha son of Hülegü [took] the two castles of Bābirwān and Wāshilwān from the Georgians. They had previously been in the possession of Sultan `Alā' al-Dīn, the ruler of [Seljuq] Rūm. When the Tatars took over the Rūm realms, the Georgians placed their hands upon the both of them, and upon the castle of Bābart, and its districts, so Abagha took it back, and handed it over to the *pervāne* (*al-barwānāh*), who was the deputy in [Seljuq] Rūm.<sup>13</sup>

**During this year** Shaykh `Umar b. Muzāhim, Shaykh Abū al-Faḍl `Alī b. Riḍwā al-`Adawī, and Ṣā'in al-Dīn `Abdallāh al-Khwārizmī, one of the Ṣūfīs in the Sa`īd al-Su`adā' hospice (*khānqāh*) died in Cairo.

**In it** the Sultan assigned `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Shujā'ī, one of his personal mamluks, to Chancelleries Supervision (*shadd al-dawāwīn*) and assessing taxes, so the governors were written by the noble state supervisor (*shādd al-dawla*).

**In it** the Shaykh the imam, Example of the Gnostics (*qudwat al-`arifīn*) and imam of those who have realized [gnosis] al-Rūzbahār al-Kāzarūnī, may God sanctify his spirit, and the light of his grave, died, and was buried in al-Qarāfa. [181]

**In it** the righteous pious Shaykh Mubārak al-Ḥabashī, the servant of Shaykh Abū al-Su`ūd, died, may God Most High have mercy on him.

### **Year 679 [1280]: Mention of the Egyptian armies' meeting Sunqur *al-ashqar*'s army**

We have mentioned that the Sultan dispatched the emir `Izz al-Dīn *al-afrah* to Syria leading an army to frighten thereby those in Kerak, to desist from the activities they had initiated, and to stop up the gates of evil that they had opened.

When his arrival reached Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar*, he imagined that he was there to wage war upon him, and to take him, so he wrote him

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<sup>13</sup> Acc. to Northrup, p. 74, note. 68 the *pervāne* was Mu`īn al-Dīn Sulaymān, who ruled Seljuq Rūm.

a letter forbidding him from coming, and to divert him from coming. Its contents were:

I have smoothed Syria out, conquered the castles, and expended in the service of the Sultan what no one ever previously expended. My condition with him was that I would be ruler (*ḥākim*) from the Euphrates [River] to al-ʿArīsh, so Aqūsh al-Shamsī has been made deputy in Aleppo, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Kabakī in Safed, and Sayf al-Dīn al-Ṭabbākhī in Ḥiṣn al-Akrād. Lastly, send to me those I can hold [as hostages], and do not cross the Pass,<sup>14</sup> nor come near the [Syrian] lands. If you are tempted, we have prepared an ambush for you.

His letter was followed by dispatching the garrison to Irbid to guard the road, so the emir ʿIzz al-Dīn *al-afṛam* forwarded his letter to the Sultan in order to learn his instructions.

The Sultan wrote to Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar* from his viewpoint, and that of his close retinue (*khūshdāshiyya*), condemning this action that would divide the unity of belief, and frighten the [Muslim] community, exhorting him to return to friendliness and obedience, and sent the letters together with the post-courier.

Then he equipped the emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Karīmī al-ʿAlāʾī to go to him with his personal retinue to get him to come back from the situation in which he was. However, he did not listen to him or pay attention to him. As for the emir ʿIzz al-Dīn *al-afṛam*, when Sunqur *al-ashqar*'s letter arrived, he returned to Gaza, as he did not have enough [troops] with him to confront the Syrian army.

When he arrived at it, he met the emir Badr al-Dīn al-Aydimurī returning from al-Shawbak after taking it with that army he had, so the two of them joined forces, at Gaza, and Sunqur *al-ashqar* gathered the armies from Aleppo, Ḥamāh and Ḥimṣ, and summoned al-Kabakī from Safed, and the Bedouin from the lands, equipping a group from the Syrian army. He appointed the emir Shams al-Dīn Qarāsunqur al-Muʿizzī as commander over them [182], and they went to Gaza and met the two emirs ʿIzz al-Dīn *al-afṛam* and Badr al-Dīn al-Aydimurī [in battle] outside of Gaza.

The Syrian army was defeated; the Egyptian army was victorious over them, so a number of them were taken prisoner. The notable among them were: Badr al-Dīn Kūnjak al-Khwārizmī, Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Nāṣirī, Nāṣir al-Dīn Bāshqird al-Nāṣirī, Badr al-Dīn Bīlīk al-Ḥalabī, ʿAlam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Badrī, and Sābiq al-Dīn, son of Ṣahyūn's ruler. All of them were sent to the sultanic gates, and the Sultan treated them well, gave them robes of honor, and did not upbraid them about their previous actions.

<sup>14</sup> Presumably the pass of Afīq leading up to Damascus.

### Mention of Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar*'s defeat and retreat

When he returned the Syrian army ran to him, informing him of those who had been taken prisoner, he mandated renewed efforts to gain mamluks, and so departed personally, camping outside of Damascus. He corresponded with the emirs who were in charge of Gaza, trying to turn them to his side, and offered to give each of them a castle, promising extensive promises to entice them. He also was lavish to the army with him.

The Sultan dispatched the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Ḥalabī and the emir Badr al-Dīn Baktāsh al-Fakhrī *amīr silāḥ* (armorer),<sup>15</sup> together with an army to fight Sunqur *al-ashqar*. The two of them joined forces together with the emir `Izz al-Dīn Aybak *al-afraḥ*, and the emir Badr al-Dīn al-Aydimurī, so their armies grew immensely. The emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī led them going to Damascus, so when he arrived at al-Kaswa, and arranged the ranks, assigning command, then he found Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar* leading the Syrian army at the ready, waiting at al-Ḥasūra.

The two groups met in battle, with the fighting very intense, so the emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī led an attack on Sunqur *al-ashqar*. When he encountered him, he defeated him, so he [Sunqur] proceeded on, going towards the Raḥba road. With him was Sharaf al-Dīn `Isā son of Muhannā. This defeat was on 19 Ṣafar year 679 [June 20, 1280].

The emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī camped outside of Damascus, handed it over, and the emir `Alā' al-Dīn Kushtghadī was installed in its citadel. When the Sultan delegated the deputy sultanate to Sunqur *al-ashqar*, he also delegated the deputyship for Damascus citadel to Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn *al-silahdār* (sword-bearer), one of his royal mamluks, so when Sunqur *al-ashqar* sat as Sultan he took ahold of him, and imprisoned him together with the emir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-`Ajamī *al-jāliq*,<sup>16</sup> because he did not swear to him together with those from the Syrian army [183] who swore.

Therefore, he freed the both of them after his defeat, and established the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn al-Manṣūrī as the deputy sultan in Damascus. The emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī wrote to the Sultan about the victory, and sent to him those emirs he had been able to take captive, so he treated them with amazing clemency, forgave their debts, clasping them closely, and giving them golden horse-trappings, Arabian horses, and garments of royal fabrics, such that they praised the result of their hypocrisy, as it became a cause for sating their needs. Just as it was said:

*Your guilty feelings expanded at their imprisonment, while its mistakes lessened both from them,*

<sup>15</sup> According to *Templar of Tyre*, p. 99, Baktāsh al-Fakhrī used to pass information to the Crusaders, and even warned them of the up-coming attack upon Tripoli (although in the Muslim sources his name is not associated with this attack).

<sup>16</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, vii, p. 252 says that *al-jāliq* was "a horse of contrary disposition."

*You recompensed the wrong-doer from them by good actions, so that his errors are now gratitude.*

He returned those whose *iqṭā'* fiefs were in Damascus to their locations, and gave clemency never previously seen.

**The author says:** One who was present at that battle told me that Sunqur *al-ashqar*, when he met al-Ḥalabī [in battle], had planned a trick, through which he wanted to overpower [the latter] and gain the victory, but al-Ḥalabī was wise to it, and took precautions because he had battlefield experience, had participated in battles, and specialized in avoiding situations like this. The trick did not work with him, nor did he fall into the sneaky attack his opponent had prepared for him. This was that he had arranged with the Bedouin, who he had mobilized when the battle broke out, to cut across the Egyptian armies, and come at them from behind, thereby engaging in looting their baggage, servants, and camels so that they would have to turn and fight them, whereupon their flanks would ride [to their baggage].

The Bedouin did what he ordered them, came from behind them, and started looting, so the army told him [al-Ḥalabī], “The Bedouin have looted the baggage, the fabrics and auxiliaries,” but he said, “Do not turn towards them, nor turn aside to them, for the main issue is before you! When we have defeated them, we will get back everything that they have taken as booty, plus what they have besides!” They obeyed him, advanced, and gained the victory, and took booty. This strategy is worthy of being followed by armies, and those who wage war should understand it.

### **Mention of Sunqur *al-ashqar* taking refuge in Ṣahyūn and fortifying it**

When Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar* retreated to al-Raḥba, most of those who were with him abandoned him, and most of them sought to return to the Sultan, knowing that he had sheathed the sword of vengeance and had caused the clouds of self-control and bounty to blossom. Thus Sunqur *al-ashqar* found himself all alone, so sought from the deputy in al-Raḥba to hand it over to him, but the latter refused him. [184] He was called Muwaffaq al-Dīn Khidr al-Raḥbī, and at that point he corresponded with Abagha son of Hülegü, the king of the Tatars, telling him that the unity of belief in Islam had been broken and the vestments of sticking together had been torn.

He urged him to come to the Syrian lands, to dominate them, and promised him help and assistance against them if he came.<sup>17</sup> Sharaf al-Dīn `Īsā

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<sup>17</sup> According to al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xv, p. 297 *al-ashqar* had been captured, then hosted by Hülegü and had been treated well, so it is not surprising that he had good connections with the Mongols.

b. Muhannā<sup>18</sup> also wrote in the same vein, and the two of them prepared forward scouts (*quṣṣād*) for him—which was that they both sent to his presence in accord with what we have mentioned.

The Sultan sent Shams al-Dīn Sunqur al-Ashrafī to try and win him back, to entreat him to get him to return, and to promise him things. However, he refused to do anything other than to extend the extremity of his ignorance, and obtuseness in the field of his error.

At the time of his [Sunqur] gaining control over Syria he had corresponded with the deputies in the castles. Among them there were those who did not obey him, and those who did, but among those who did obey him were Ṣahyūn, Burziyya, Balātinus, al-Shughr, Bakās, Ḥiṣn `Akkār, Shayzar, and Ḥimṣ, so when the greeting that he had gotten in al-Raḥba reduced his options, and his companions had flung away accompanying him, he remained confused.

The Sultan dispatched an army to him in the company of the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn b. Aṭlas Khān, so he and `Īsā b. Muhannā hastened to flee to Ṣahyūn, which was in Jumādā al-Ulā of the previously mentioned year [Sept. 1280], so Ibn Aṭlas and those with him returned.

**During it** the emir Jamāl al-Dīn Aqush al-Shamsī, the deputy of Aleppo, died, so the Sultan sent the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Bāshqirdī to it as deputy.

**During it** there was the return of the emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī and the rest of the emirs to the Egyptian homelands, where sultanic robes of honor covered them.

**During it** the Sultan transferred Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn al-Manṣūrī from the deputyship in the citadel of Damascus to be the sole (*istiqlāl*) deputy sultan in Syria, appointed Badr al-Dīn Bīlīk *al-tayyār* to the Safed castle, and assigned Sayf al-Dīn Qajqār al-Manṣūrī to the citadel of Damascus. He stayed in it for a time, and then was transferred to the deputyship of Safed, while Badr al-Dīn Bīlīk *al-tayyār* was transferred to Damascus with an emirate. The reason for his transfer there was that he had been in Safed when `Alā' al-Dīn al-Kabakī had been deputy in the castle, so when al-Kabakī sided with Sunqur *al-ashqar* there was a discussion between *al-Tayyār* and the men of the castle. They seized him, and almost detained him.

When the issue of Sunqur *al-ashqar* and those with him became less volatile [185] the Sultan removed him from it, and appointed in his place Qajqār, and appointed [...] al-Dīn al-Aldakizī (?) to be deputy in Safed.

**During it** the emir `Izz al-Dīn *al-afram* was dispatched to besiege Shayzar, where `Izz al-Dīn Kurjī was located, so while he was besieging it, the reports of the Tatars arrival from three directions came: one from the [Seljuq] Rūm, whose commanders were Ṣamghār, Tanjī and Ṭurunjī, a second from the east, whose commander was Baydū son of Taraghai (Targhāy), brother of Abagha

<sup>18</sup> Correcting the *minhā*.



son of Hülegü, accompanied by the ruler of Mārdīn, and the ruler of Amad, and the third in which was the majority of the army, and the Mongol elite, accompanied by Mengü Temür son of Hülegü.

Reports were confirmed concerning this, and the advance scouts caught up with it, informing of how close they were to the lands of [Seljuq] Rüm, and that the [Armenian] ruler of Sīs had had gone out to them by way of al-Darbsāk.

The Sultan wrote confirming this to Sunqur *al-ashqar*, seeking to turn him away from his evil opinion, and to make his apparent treachery and assisting unbelief against Islam at the end of his life appear ugly to him. When the emir `Izz al-Dīn *al-afram* verified the Tatars' closeness to the Euphrates [River] he rode from Shayzar, and wrote to Sunqur *al-ashqar* in the same vein as the Sultan had indicated to him: a mixture of carrot and stick, causing fear, and inciting hope.

He inclined towards the safety of Islam, paid heed to the reproof and blame, and descended from Şahyūn to al-Jarāş, determined to aid the Muslims, return to bringing victory to the religion, and he joined the army of Aleppo, Ĥimş and Ĥamāh, while the Sultan prepared to travel, and delegated the sultanate to his heir-apparent, his son, the sultan al-Malik al-Şāliḥ `Alā' al-Dīn `Alī.

### **Mention of the delegation of the sultanate and the [appointment as] heir-apparent to al-Malik al-Şāliḥ `Alā' al-Dīn Abū al-Faḥḥ `Alī**

When the Sultan was resolved to go to Syria to meet the Tatars, he assembled the senior emirs, and presented them with the delegation of the heir-apparent and the trusteeship of the realm to his eldest son. They were happy about that, and their opinions of him coincided, so he rode with the sultan's insignia through the city, and then ascended to the Citadel, sat according to his rank, and the noble letter of appointment was written for him, of which this is a copy:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, and in Him we trust

Praise be to God who ennobled the seat of kingship with His greatness, guarded it with his legatee, strengthened His victory with delegated authority of His guidance, and made lofty the decree of His generosity with qualities combined by an early enumeration; and made the best of fathers lofty through the best of sons, by one who his father's loftiness with regard to him through his lofty nobility of character, and the fruit of his garden follows closely his pattern and hasty friendship—we praise Him [186] for His graces which are harvested in the blossom of produce, and to the sun's light are added the moon's guidance, encompassed by the



sea, blessed by the day, beautifying the beginning, prettifying the report, joining the pleasure and fragrance of times with the splendor of blades and the delicacy of daybreaks.

We testify that there is no god but God, alone, without any partner—a testimony by which we clothe the tongues, every hour anew, in the lengthy shade of which we rest, by which we seek to draw near to hopes that others besides us see as far; and we ask for prayer upon our lord Muḥammad—by whom God has purified this community (*umma*) from impurities, and made it pure in its genesis by his guidance—and prayer upon him, his family, his companions, among whom was one by whom one understands the goodness of what he left behind by his command to lead the people in prayer,<sup>19</sup> among whom was one by whom God constructed the bases of the religion and made him a support for the foundation,<sup>20</sup> among whom was one who equipped the army of destitution, and was generous with his wealth at a time of lack and hardship,<sup>21</sup> and among whom was one who [Muḥammad] said concerning him: “Truly, tomorrow I will give the flag to a man who God and His Messenger love, and who loves God and His Messenger” and who shone in doing this, having been further ennobled by his marriage-kinship with the People of the House,<sup>22</sup> and removed filth from them—a prayer that continues to reverberate through the souls, and is still the best conviviality for the times.

*Afterwards*, the best of one who is ennobled by occupying the ranks of the sultanate, who the garb of judgeship places him in a superior position by receiving it, one who the ascendants of dominion are resplendent by his careful attention, one who the realms hasten to acknowledge his rights, one who the dominion of his Maṣṣūr, may God render him aid, shines with his steadfastness, and his heir-apparent, may God render him powerful, its constructor, and the one who supervises the entry-hall of greatness, if his father is absent, in the interests of Islam.

He is his mainstay; if he is present, then he is his second, whoever beautifies themselves, the governance is missing from them because of the best cub vouchsafed to a lion, who brings the weal of the community to perfection by the best downpour following spring rains, one to whom the royal ethics and the mannerisms of rule were imparted while still a boy, one who the intercessory prayers of noble parentage singled him out as its

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<sup>19</sup> Abū Bakr, the first caliph.

<sup>20</sup> `Umar, the second caliph.

<sup>21</sup> `Uthmān, the third caliph.

<sup>22</sup> `Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the fourth caliph.

straightener—without any wretchedness in these prayers—one who was raised by the prominence of rulership until its place became higher, one who is deserved that trust be placed in him, and will succeed, one who it is worthy that it be pronounced to him: “Succeed me leading my people!” one who at every good thing advances, one who when the matters of the Muslims are delegated to him, he supervises their matters well, one who fulfills the past and the present from his father, one whose light-giving, lofty name is “there is no sword but Dhū al-Fiḡār, no youth but `Alī.”<sup>23</sup>

Since he is in the lofty, masterly, sultanic, kingly, al-Šāliḡ al-`Alā`<sup>24</sup> place, may God support the religion by him, and gather the submission of every muezzin necessitating obedience to him, to take care of the Muslims’ affairs, until morning appears, while he is the one who makes the believers aright, he is the one hoped-for to administer these matters, and the hoped-for one with regard to the interests of the lands and the border regions, the one who treasures up [187] victory to “heal what is in the hearts,”<sup>25</sup> the one for whom physiognomy (*firāsa*) testifies to the identity of his father and to him by adjudication. Is not the ruler the father of `Alī, the Victorious (al-Manšūr)?

For these reasons mercy and compassion have been mandated for the community, that an heir-apparent be appointed for them by whom they can grasp ahold of the bond of his nobility, hasten after performing the circumambulation of the Ka`ba of his father to his sanctity (Ḥaram), plucking the flowers of justice, and the fruits of generosity from his pen and word.

The community should seek the felicity from him by al-Malik al-Šāliḡ, who distributes lights from his brow, and righteous deeds from his miracles (*karāmāt*) and nobility.

For this reason the highest, masterly, sultanic command of al-Malik al-Manšūr, may God make fate to serve him, has gone forth, while the realms continue to be resplendent, from him and his heir-apparent with the sun and the moon, to delegate to him the heir-apparency and the noble deputy sultanship completely, generally, in an all-encompassing, responsible, gathering, distributing, decisive, shining, noble, eminent, loving, caring, gentle manner, with self-control in all of the noble regions and realms.

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<sup>23</sup> This statement is one of the foundations of the *futuwwa* guilds; al-Malik al-Šāliḡ’s given name was `Alī.

<sup>24</sup> The referent is to Qalāwūn’s former masters.

<sup>25</sup> Paraphrase of Q9:14.

Its armies, garrisons, Bedouin, Turkmen, Kurds, deputies, governors, high and low, subjects and non-subjects, rulers, judges, hunter and game, in the Egyptian homelands, and its border regions, its regions, its lands, and all that is included in it, the Ḥijāzī realm, and all that is included in it, the Nubian realm, and all that is included in it, the Ṣafadan conquests, and the coastal Islamic conquests, and all that is included in them, the Syrian realms, its fortresses, castles, cities, regions and lands, the Ḥimṣan realm, the Ḥiṣn al-Akrādian realm, and the mountainous region and their conquests, the Aleppan realm, its border fortresses, lands, and all that is included in them, the Euphrates realm, and what is included in it, and all the rest of the Islamic castles both on land and at sea, on level and rugged ground, Syrian and Egyptian, Yemenite and Ḥijāzī, east and west, far and near.

That the keys of the affairs in those noble realms would be cast upon him, that the sultanate of his father, may God immortalize his reign, would be entrusted to him in order for the community to witness with their own eyes at one time a sultan and caliph, heirship and entrustment, upon which the narrators can rely, which the camel-drivers can hum, while ears are cognizant of them, and tongues speaking about them.

An entrustment proclaimed to all the peoples and to every possessor of sword and pen, to every possessor of knowledge and a flag, of what [Muḥammad], may God's prayers and peace be upon him said, to the one he named, may God be pleased with him, when he appointed him master because of the glory of that to which he appointed him: "To whom-ever I am master, `Alī will be his master."<sup>26</sup> Every king of a region will receive and acknowledge this statement; every army leader is covered and encompassed by this entrustment; every region must deputize someone who will accept and kiss it, that there be a copy in front of him, for him to follow; every pulpit must proclaim it in its sermon, declaiming the *furqān* [the Qur'ān] of this advancement and reciting it.

As for testaments, we have made our son and heir-apparent aware of these in a way [188] that will be impressed upon his pure mind, and its nourishment has begun to develop his branch. It is necessary for the glimmers to illuminate testaments being blessed by this noble formal investiture, for Friday mosques to make the good happen wherever it happens, while trusts of which we tell you, O our son, may God make us glorious with your length (of life), so that the like of an informer will not tell you.

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<sup>26</sup> The tradition of Ghadīr Khumm, used commonly by Shi'ites. Here "Alī" is al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ.

So “fear God as if you see Him, for as you do not see Him, he sees you.”<sup>27</sup> Aid the Divine Law (*al-shar'*), for when you aid it, God will aid you against the enemies of the religion and your enemies. Let justice overflow in speech and in writing until your tongue and your two hands hasten to enunciate it.

Command the right and forbid the wrong,<sup>28</sup> knowing that tomorrow you will have to give an account of this before God. Forbid your soul from whims, so that you do not see yourself when you forbid yourself. Protect the subjects, and command the deputies to bear them through difficulties, and uphold [God's] limits (*al-hudūd*), organize the armies, sending out raids on land and at sea to every place is praiseworthy, guard the border regions, pay close attention to matters, secure the servants, God's pure and beloved ones, redoubling for them their sanctity and good treatment.

Know that God has chosen us over the worlds,<sup>29</sup> but the people are brothers, especially those possessed of successful initiative and preponderant opinion. Whoever, when they boast of being related via the *Ṣāliḥiyya* [regiment] it should be said to them: “How good are the pious (*ṣāliḥ*) predecessors!” so seek counsel from them concerning the issue, confer with them about the important matters of the lands, concerning every secret and open [matter]; also those senior emirs, who are left over from previous rulers, and the treasures of the earlier kings—treat them this way, explaining to them with good treatment.

As for the armies, they are the builder and the building, so act with forbearance towards them, and make sure that they love you because of your good treatment towards them, acting well, and have obedience towards you as part of their creed, so that love for it (obedience) will engulf them, then they will become obedient as a result of your looking fondly upon them.

Ensure that every ethnicity, land and people from among them has the right to approach you with good counsel of any type, for this and they are a precious gift to you, so make your commands with penetrating wisdom, while listening to them.

As for other injunctions, we will give them to you freely as guidance in our own time, and will drill you in them according to clear verses. God Most High will increase your crescent moon until He takes you to the

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<sup>27</sup> A common Sufi saying.

<sup>28</sup> The important basis for Islamic social justice.

<sup>29</sup> Paraphrase of Q3:42 directed at Mary.

level of the full moons, and will nourish your branch until we consider it to be ripened in the best possible blooming, and flowering. He will supply you with the felicity of our sultanate, by which you have been titled, in blessing, and will inspire you to shoulder His party (*shī`atihi*) by following His way (*summa*) until you are able to grasp hold of it in the same manner as us, and will make the subjects be at peace, safety, justice and good treatment with you until you fear no evil nor dread any reverse.

This formal investiture (*taqlīd*) was read in the Kāmālī Hall in the protected Citadel, and robes of honor were bestowed upon the emirs, [189] the commanders, the ministers, and those wearing turbans [religious leadership]. The sitting finished off with a reading of it, while the people cried out in intercessory righteous prayer for al-Manṣūr and al-Şāliḥ. When this matter was finished the Sultan moved quickly to proceed from the Egyptian homelands to the Syrian lands.

### **Mention of the Sultan proceeding to Gaza and his return from it**

**In it** the Sultan, accompanied by the Islamic armies, proceeded towards Syria to protect Islam. He arrived in Gaza, and then camped outside of it. The Tatars had arrived at `Ayntāb, Baghrās and al-Darbsāk, and had advanced to Aleppo, finding it void of armies, as its people had fled pell-mell from it. They burned its Friday mosques, mosques, dwellings and houses, and caused mayhem and corruption. This was during the middle tenth of Jumādā al-Ākhira of the aforementioned year [middle of October 1280].

When the Sultan's arrival reached them, they dispersed to their winter encampments, so the Sultan returned to the Egyptian homelands to take advantage of the spring-herbage for the horses. Syria was protected because of the road-blockage due to snow and flooding, and he dispatched an army accompanied by the emir Badr al-Dīn Baktāsh al-Najmī to Ḥimṣ, and one accompanied by the emir `Alā' al-Dīn Aydakīn *al-bunduqdār* al-Şāliḥī to the coastlands to guard the lands against the Franks. This was with the justification that he had not as yet concluded a truce with them, so he feared that they would exploit this opportunity to cause trouble or to incite dissension.

**In it** the emirs who were with Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar* began to slip away, heading to the sultanate gates. The emir `Izz al-Dīn *al-afram* was in Ḥamāh, and so they joined with him. They were `Alā' al-Dīn al-Kabakī, `Izz al-Dīn Kurjī, and Badr al-Dīn Baktūt al-Qaṭarī. However, `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Dawādārī and *al-hājj* `Izz al-Dīn Izdimur, and some of the Zāhirī ones who had been dispatched to the castles which had defected, remained with him.

**And in it** the Franks in Marqab fortress, when the Tatars' assault upon the lands and the pell-mell flight of the armies from Aleppo reached them, saw an opportunity and planned corruption, desiring to harm the Muslims on the edges of these lands. Therefore, the emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Ṭabbākī

al-Manṣūrī, who at that time was the deputy sultan at Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, had requested permission from the Sultan to raid Marqab with those with him because of its proximity.

The Sultan put it off [190] and thought little of the horsemen in it, but it was mentioned how few the foot-soldiers [in Marqab] were, so he gave permission to him. Therefore, he went with those he had, the fortresses' army, the Turkmen, and those regions' foot soldiers, asking for mangonels and war implements to accompany him, and advanced until he stopped close to the fortress.

It is a lofty fortress, from the base of which arrows do not reach, and its inhabitants hid themselves, and did not move throughout the whole interlude. The army increasingly wanted to engage them, and attack, so they began from where arrows could reach them, and send them wounded. However, the arrow-volley began to get to them, and terrify them [Muslims], because it would fall upon the army that was located between the heights of the mountains, and the arrows of the Muslims would not reach them at all.

So the troops with him began to be anxious, and the levies accompanying him to murmur. When he saw their anxiety, he took counsel with those emirs who were with him, to perhaps fall back slightly so as to prevent arrows from coming at them, so they fell back, returning, and he took up his reins for a hasty reverse, while people did not know that this was supposed to just be a tactical move.

Instead, they thought that it was a rout, so they turned around, and made haste to flee. The Franks saw this, so they opened the fortress gates, and sallied forth from every direction, while the foot rushed forward, and the knights followed them. They got to the Muslims, and a large number departed, while they plundered what they could, and took a number of the foot soldiers prisoner. This reached the Sultan, and he disliked it and was annoyed. His travels were broken up then for him to study these circumstances, and to look into the causes that enabled this misfortune.

### **Mention of the Sultan proceeding a second time to Syria**

**In it** the Sultan returned to Syria. His departure from the protected Citadel was at the beginning of Dhū al-Ḥijja [March 13, 1281], and he left his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ behind in his place, and assigned the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Shujā`ī al-Manṣūrī over the levying of taxes, as the state supervisor (*shādd al-dawla*), and other important matters in the Egyptian homelands.

**In this year** the righteous shaykh `Alī al-Mu`ammar (long-lived), who was known as Bird of Paradise, died in protected Cairo, and was buried at the foot of Mt. Muqaṭṭam.

**In it** Taqī al-Dīn b. Razīn was removed from the position of Chief Judge in Cairo an Egypt, and both positions were given to Judge Ṣadr al-Dīn `Umar b. Tāj al-Dīn for a short while. Then he was removed, and it was given again to Judge Taqī al-Dīn b. Razīn until the period of al-Ḥakam. [191]

### Year 680 [1281] Mention of the renewal of the truce with the Franks and the House of the Hospitallers

**In it** the Sultan arrived at al-Rawḥā', and when he had settled in it, Frankish envoys arrived at his gates asking for a renewal of the truce, and an extension of the [existing] Zāhirī truce, and a peace for the inhabitants of Marqab. They continued back and forth until the situation was established that they would have half of al-Rabaḍ and Balanyās on the condition that they would return all the Muslim prisoners they had taken during the interval, which was a considerable number.

The truce was to go into effect during Muḥarram of this year [April to May 1281], and the Sultan swore for them. The peace was proclaimed, and the emir Fakhr al-Dīn Ayyāz al-Muqrī, the chamberlain emir, was sent to take the Franks' oath, and that of the commander of the Hospitallers' house, whose name was Nicholas de Lorgne, so he swore to what the peace stipulated.

**And in it** Ya'qūb al-Marīnī resolved to attack Banū 'Abd al-Wād[id] over Tilimsān,<sup>30</sup> so he mustered Yaghmurāsan 'Abd al-Wādī[d] a number of *maghrāwa*, *tajīn*,<sup>31</sup> Bedouin and others, so they met in battle over a city called Wajda.<sup>32</sup> The Banū Marīn were victorious over the Banū 'Abd al-Wād[id], and 'Amr b. Yaghmurāsan was killed. They pillaged, took what they wanted of their families, and their wealth, but then had mercy on them, setting the families at liberty, and returning their wealth and quadrupeds to their lands.

**In it** al-Marīnī established himself in the city of Sale,<sup>33</sup> which is on the [Atlantic] sea in the midst of the lands—its distance from Marrakesh is six days and from Fez three days.

#### Mention of the incident of Sayf al-Dīn Kūndak and those with him

**And in it** it reached the Sultan while he was camped at al-Rawḥā' that Sayf al-Dīn Kūndak and a number of the Zāhirī emirs had resolved upon treachery, and to attack/assassinate him, so he made them present themselves to him, upbraided them, and remonstrated with them.

The arrival of letters from Acre in French (*faranjī*) from those there who were allies confirmed it, whose content were, "Guard yourself, for there are a number of the emirs who have conspired against you to kill you," as they had already corresponded with the Franks [192] and said to them, "Do not make a

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<sup>30</sup> For the background, see Hussein Fancy, *The Mercenary Mediterranean: Sovereignty, Religion and Violence in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), pp. 30–3.

<sup>31</sup> These are both Berber confederations frequently described by Ibn Khaldūn.

<sup>32</sup> Oudja.

<sup>33</sup> Today next to Rabāt.



peace with him, even if he were to give you what he would, for we have cooked a kettle for him, and it has heated up. Only a small amount of time is left.”

When this report reached him [the Sultan] he resolved upon acting resolutely, giving orders resolutely, and the above emirs perceived that, so panicked, and resolved to ride during the night. They came to the royal tent by agreement between them and some of the Zāhiriyya al-Jawwāniyya [regiment], but when they had come close to the royal tent, they cut its tent-ropes, and did what they had conspired about. [Their attitude was] if they were successful, then hopefully [it would go well], but if not, they would ride as one, going towards the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar*.

The report was passed to the Sultan, so he ensured that the Syrian roads authorities would guard the ways against them without them knowing about that. A number of the Baḥriyya al-Ṣāliḥiyya [regiment] were assigned to the area around the royal tent, and it was agreed with the senior emirs that the guard would allow them to enter the royal tent so as to overpower them [in the act].

So he did what was required, and then traveled from al-Rawḥā’, and camped at al-Lajjūn. There the report arrived that they had been made aware of his alertness, with the Sharī’a River between them.<sup>34</sup> When it was forded, their fleeing one was not caught nor the one they were seeking apprehended, but probably some of them proceeded to Kerak, while some to Sunqur *al-ashqar*.

He rode from al-Lajjūn, going to Ḥamrā’ Baysān. All that day he continued to converse with them, speak gently to them, and then betray them only when he arrived at al-Ḥamrā’, although they did not realize that until they were opposite the royal tent. Then he commanded them to dismount, to drink a draught, as it was a very hot day, so they dismounted and drank the draught. He then called Kūndak, Idghamish al-Ḥakīmī, Baybars al-Rashīdī, and Sāṭilmish *al-silahdār* (sword-bearer) al-Zāhirī, and said to them:

“You know that I have not sought rulership, nor aimed towards it, or desired it, but you when you plotted against the son of your patron, and revolted against me while I was at Sīs. You grabbed a hold of my tail, and said: We will settle accounts with you! Therefore, I went interceding on your behalf, but my intercession was not accepted. I accepted your whims, and dedicated myself (*rūḥī*), my children, and my wealth to you. God knows my intention, so He gave me what He gave me, then I treated you well, added to you, expended wealth on your behalf—but now you correspond with the Franks about killing me!”

So they said, “We have made an error; we have indeed done everything that the Sultan learned about us.” He said, “O emirs! Know what they have confessed”

<sup>34</sup> Ibn Sipāhẓāda, *Awdah*, p. 63, close to Banias, flowing into the Sea of Galilee.



and ordered for them to be arrested in the midst of the camp, so they were, and sent to the camps. Every one of the Barānīs and the Jawāni mamluks who was in on the conspiracy with them was arrested, a total of 33 people.

A number were wary, so fled. The army followed after them, and caught some of them in the mountains of Ba'lbak, some of in the sub-district of Şarkhand. The Sultan did not stay in Ḥamrā' Baysān other than that one night, and crossed the way.

As for Kūndak, Idghamish [193] al-Ḥakīmī, Baybars al-Rashīdī and Sāṭilmish al-Zāhirī, they were done away with; for the rest of those arrested, they were imprisoned in Damascus citadel.

**And in it** the emir Sayf al-Dīn Aytamish al-Sa'dī, Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Hārūnī, and Sayf al-Dīn Karāy [=Giray] and his children, and a number of the Baḥriyya al-Zāhiriyya [regiment] and the Tatars who had taken refuge fled, so they proceeded to Şahyūn, and joined with the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar*.

The Sultan dispatched an army after them, accompanied by the emir Badr al-Dīn Baktāsh al-Fakhrī, *amīr silāḥ*, and the emir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars Ṭaqşū, but it was not able to catch up with them. The Sultan traveled to Damascus, and the Syrian armies met him. The entire city was decked out for him, so he began to win hearts and to pass over offenses, and brought out the treasury to pay the armies. His goodness won people over,<sup>35</sup> and God tamped down every fire.

### **Mention of the agreement that was arranged between the Sultan and Sunqur *al-ashqar***

**And in it** when the Sultan had stayed in the city of Damascus, he dispatched the emir 'Izz al-Dīn *al-afram* with an army, and after him 'Alā' al-Dīn Kushtghadī al-Shamsī with another army, so they proceeded to Shayzar as if they were performing some task or following something, but then the emir 'Izz al-Dīn *al-afram* became unwell, and then sickened. Among the emirs al-Must'arabī died during this expedition.

Letters passed back and forth between the Sultan and the above emir Shams al-Dīn, and he demanded that Shayzar be handed over, then he [the Sultan] demanded that he be compensated with al-Shughr and Bakās, as they were both taken from him for a time. The Sultan assigned Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī as the deputy in it, and then he demanded Kafrtāb and its lands together with them. He acquiesced to that and to the handing over of Shayzar. It was established that he would station 600 horsemen over these

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<sup>35</sup> al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xxxi, p. 54 says that on 25 Rabī' al-Awwal [July 14, 1281] Qalāwūn ordered all the wines in Damascus to be poured out (preparatory to the upcoming battle); see also al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, ii, p. 143.

lands in order aid Islam. Additionally, the emirs who had fled to him, if they stayed with him, would be counted among his emirs, but if they presented themselves to the Sultan, they would have a safe conduct, good treatment, and would not be punished.

The ones who presented themselves were the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Dawādārī, with the formula of an oath according to what was agreed, so the Sultan swore to it, and Sunqur *al-ashqar* asked him to address him with the word “king” but he refused. An official investiture (*taqlīd*) for lands was written for him, in which he was described as an “emir” and the Sultan sent the emir Fakhr al-Dīn al-Muqrī and the emir Shams al-Dīn Qarāsunqur *al-jūkandār* (batman)<sup>36</sup> al-Manṣūrī [194] to him. The two of them took his oath, and handed over Shayzar, while receiving al-Shughr and Bakās. The Sultan then sent him some vessels, fabrics and cattle, a great many, and the agreement was settled, while division was put aside.

### **Mention of the peace with al-Mas`ūd son of al-Zāhir with regards to Kerak**

**And in it** the above envoys from Kerak passed back and forth seeking a peace, and to augment Kerak—to receive what al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dā`ūd possessed, but the Sultan did not acquiesce to this, nor to them staying in Kerak. Instead, he said to them in an answer to every missive, “I will give you another castle, not Kerak.”

When the peace with Sunqur *al-ashqar* was established, they feared misfortune, and knew that they had no ability to resist, especially as they were divided amongst themselves, cut off, and events had turned against them, as they had squandered their resources and wealth.

So they acquiesced to obeying the Sultan on the condition that he sustain them in Kerak and its districts from al-Mawjib to al-Ḥasā,<sup>37</sup> and the Sultan answered affirmatively to them, swore to them, and they sought conditions. Among those was sending the siblings, male and female, children of al-Malik al-Zāhir from Cairo to Kerak, the return of the Zāhirī properties to them, and then a general peace on those conditions.

The Sultan swore upon that, and Badr al-Dīn Bīlīk al-Muḥsinī *amīr silāh* and the Judge Tāj al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr proceeded to Kerak. The two of them took the oaths of al-Malik al-Mas`ūd and he received correspondence, just as he corresponded with the ruler of Ḥamāh, and the situation was stable.

<sup>36</sup> Farsi: *jūkan* “a club used in the polo game,” cf. al-Qalqashandī, *Subh*, v. p. 430.

<sup>37</sup> Both of these are wadis in west-central Jordan; the region around Kerak in all directions: Marcus Milwright, *The Fortress of the Raven: Karak in the Middle Islamic Period* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2008), p. 95 map, also p. 99.

### Mention of the Tatars' arrival in the lands and their assault upon them

And in it the reports reached the Sultan of Mengü Temür's arrival in [Seljuq] Rūm, leading the Mongol armies, and that he had camped between Caesarea/Kayseri and Iblastayn, and he stayed at this camp. Reports were confirmed about this, and the reconnaissance parties went morning and evening—nothing was secret from them, nor unrevealed.

Then reconnaissance parties proceeded from 'Aynṭāb to scout out, and came across a Tatar detachment close to the Hūnī waste,<sup>38</sup> where al-Malik al-Zāhir defeated the Tatars, and gained ahold of a man called Julltār Bahādur, *amīr akhūr* (shield-bearer) to Abagha, who had been sent to scout out the fields and pastures.

They struck him with a sword on his ear, and then held him, bringing him before the Sultan in the city of Damascus, who befriended him, talked politics with him, and asked him concerning the reports of the people. He mentioned that they were a great many, more than 80,000 [195] riders of the Mongols, and local levies, and that they were intending to come to the [Syrian] lands—an absolute statement—and they would be riding from their camp at the beginning of Rajab [October 23, 1281].

The Sultan heard his words, and then he was taken to Egypt, him together with those who were taken prisoner with him, so when it was the month of Jumādā al-Ākhira of that year [September 17, 1281] the report was reaffirmed, and expanded upon, as they had moved from their camp to Ṣārwas, then from there to Iblastayn, and then traveled until they entered al-Darband, while they were traveling towards al-Hawīnā.<sup>39</sup>

Then one of their detachments proceeded to al-Raḥba accompanied by Abagha the king personally and the ruler of Mārdīn, so they camped up against it. The Sultan sent Badr al-Dīn Bajkā al-'Alā'ī together with 200 horsemen lightly armed in the direction of al-Raḥba for reconnaissance. The Sultan departed Damascus leading a mass, numbers and levies, which was a day to be seen! As if all creatures were had been assembled on a plain,<sup>40</sup> or gathered for the promised day.<sup>41</sup>

Prior to his departure, he assigned commands to the emirs, and a group to each emir. The emir Sayf al-Dīn Qushtimiur al-'Ajamī was in charge of Ḥimṣ, while the emir Sayf al-Dīn Baktimur al-Ghutamī was in charge of Aleppo.

<sup>38</sup> Probably the mountainous area west of present-day Gaziantep in Turkey (in other texts vocalized as Hūnī waste), but does not seem to be listed in any geographical works.

<sup>39</sup> Perhaps the same as the Hūnī waste above, most probably in south central Turkey.

<sup>40</sup> Probably an allusion to al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, iv, p. 127 (no. 3340), where humanity is assembled on a plain for judgement.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Q50:20.

Then the report came in that a detachment of the enemy had arrived from [Seljuq] Rūm, and had camped at Mar`ash, then continued on to the target of Ḥārim.

The Sultan's royal tent continued on to al-Quṭayfa, and then to `Uyūn al-Qaṣab, while the abandoned enemy arrived at Ḥārim, and controlled the lands. The Sultan ordered the people to put on war equipment, to ride, to line themselves up [for battle], and to prance around (*yataṣhālāshu*),<sup>42</sup> as well as to carry out war exercises. He corresponded with Sunqur al-ashqar a number of times, until it was established that he would descend from Ṣahyūn, and stand with the Muslims—he together with the emirs who were with him—on the condition that he be allowed to return to his place once the conflict was over.

The emir Sayf al-Dīn Baktimur *al-sāqī* [cup-bearer] al-`Azīzī and the emir Badr al-Dīn Baktāsh al-Fakhīrī proceeded to establish this understanding, so he descended and stationed himself at al-Jarās, close to Abū Qubays.<sup>43</sup> When the Sultan camped at Ḥimṣ, Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar* presented himself, together with the emirs who were with him, who were Aytimish al-Sa`dī, *al-hājj* Izdimur, al-Duwaydārī, Baychaq al-Baghdādī, Girāy, and Shams al-Dīn al-Ṭanṭāsh his son, and those members of the Zāhiriyya [regiment] who hastened to serve.

The Muslims were glad at their presence, as that was prior to the conflict by two days. The Sultan pitched his red war royal tent, and the report came in that Mengū Temūr had camped up against Ḥamāh, together with the Tatar armies, leading 80,000, [196] among them were 50,000 Mongols, while the rest of them were apostates, Georgians, [Seljuq] Rūm, Armenians and Franks. One of the mamluks of the emir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-`Ajamī *al-jāliq* defected to them, and guided them to the Muslims' weak places, telling them of their numbers.

When it was the night of Thursday, they traveled from Ḥamāh, and arranged their army, so that their right flank was towards Ḥamāh, while their left flank was towards Salamiyya, and they drove together seeking battle.

The Sultan also arranged the army into right and left flanks—a center and two “wings” (flanks)—in accord with what we will describe. The Muslims spent the night almost wearing the terrors of battles, in armor, both they and their horses, for the meeting [in battle] with the most important events.

It was confirmed that one of the Tatar army defected, and entered Ḥamāh, saying to the deputy in it: “Write this very hour to the Sultan: 44,000 Mongols, who will target the center and the right flank, which for them is very strong, so strengthen the left flank of the Muslims, and make sure to protect the standards.” The Sultan read this letter, and rode at dawn to strengthen the left flank, and to prepare as best he could.

<sup>42</sup> Probably from the Farsi *chālīsh* “elegant gait, graceful motion, [mock] battle.”

<sup>43</sup> Fortress opposite Shayzar.

**Mention of the battle with the Tatars over Ḥims, and their defeat  
on Thursday 14 Rajab year 680 [October 29, 1281]**

When the Sultan rode during the morning of that day to arrange the vanguard (*aṭlāb*), he led the army personally, and thus their morale was high, their spirits resolute, and he incited them to be steadfast, and keep patient. He then returned to his station in the center, relying upon the Lord leading a proved army more steadfast than the mountains, and gardens more barren than fixed misfortunes.

The order of battle was according to this arrangement:

The victorious Maṣṣūrī right flank: in it al-Malik al-Maṣṣūr Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, ruler of Ḥamāh, and the Ḥamān army, the emir Badr al-Dīn Baysarā al-Shamsī, the emir `Alā al-Dīn Ṭīburs al-Wazīrī *al-ḥājj*, the emir `Izz al-Dīn Aybak *al-afram*, *amīr jandār* al-Ṣāliḥī, the emir `Alā' al-Dīn Kushtghadī al-Shamsī, and those added to them from the emirs of the marching-bands (*tablkhānāt*), and the captains of ten, commanders of the freeborn troops, their troops, other sections of the army, the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn *amīr silāh* [armorer] al-Maṣṣūrī, deputy of Syria, the Syrian [197] emirs, and the Syrian army. At the forefront of the right flank was Sharaf al-Dīn `Īsā b. al-Muḥannā, the Āl Faḍl, the Āl Murā, the Bedouin of the Syrian lands, with those who joined them.

The blessed Islamic left flank: in it the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar*, those Zāhirī mamluks who were with him, the emir Sayf al-Dīn Aytimish al-Sa`dī, the emir Badr al-Dīn Bīlīk al-Aydimurī, the emir Badr al-Dīn Bak-tāsh al-Fakhrī, *amīr ṣilāh*, the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Ḥalabī al-Ṣāliḥī, the emir Sayf al-Dīn Bakkā al-`Alā'ī, the emir Badr al-Dīn Baktūt al-`Alā'ī, the emir Sayf al-Dīn Jabrak al-Tatarī, and those emirs of 1000s. At forefront of the left flank were the Turkmen in their masses, and the army of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād.

The signal-flag (*al-jālīsh*), which was in the forward part of the center, the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, the deputy of the awe-inspiring sultanate, and those emirs, the *mafārīda*, his mamluks, his troops which were added to him, and the emir Rukn al-Dīn Abājī the chamberlain, the emir Badr al-Dīn Bak-tāsh b. Karmūn, and those royal Maṣṣūrī mamluks with them.

The Sultan stood beneath the victorious standards, while around him were his mamluks, his courtiers, the armorers, the standard-bearers (*al-sanjaqdāriyya*), and the axe-men (*tabardāriyya*). He was steadfast in the saddle of his noble horse like the steadfastness of a deeply-rooted lofty mountain, seeking reward in the path of God as long as he attends to matters and endures hardships.

The Tatars' cavalry ascended, heaped like the waves, following one another like the crash of the sea, advancing, stealing over from the mountain-paths, when they were like the falling of dark-night, while the Muslims were like a

brightly burning lantern—the lights of monotheism had shown over them, and the flashing iron.

*Swords conceal light through faces, but (other) swords conceal suns in blazing fire,  
In a place where the white (swords) fall narrowly upon white in bending and prostration.*

The meeting [in battle] was on the plain of Ḥimṣ, close to the shrine of Khālid b al-Walīd. This was where the spears' center and the winds' blowing was, which was also the place where the Muslims put up the best fight, while Khālid's victory increased immortality among them.<sup>44</sup> The two sides met at the 4th hour on Thursday 14 Rajab [October 29, 1281].

The enemy's left flank came towards the Islamic right; they had already arranged the cavalry into squadrons [198], and they followed each other in parties. The first clash went towards the right flank, but the armies stayed steadfast for fighting, and the Muslims were patient for the fight. They surrounded the Tatars until they hemmed them into the field, so they veered towards the direction of the center's vanguard.

The Sultan indicated to us that we should follow it, so we all did, and we made it by turning our mass into a barrier, killing those who attempted it swiftly, using swords among them, and wheeling among them like death. Their left flank was utterly defeated, and we were absolutely certain of a general victory. The defeat of their left flank continued towards their center, which was the position of Mengü Temür son of Hülegü.

The heart of this center weakened, then retreated being followed, turning as runaways. As for the Islamic left flank, it, when it clashed and collided with the Tatar right flank, it retired from its position, and did not hold firm because of the crush of the Tatar cavalry (*karādīs*), its close pursuit, and also because they [Tatars] augmented its strength, and overtopped its numbers, so they pursued the Muslims until they ended up under [the walls of] Ḥimṣ.

There they fell upon the camp followers and the common people, forcing them into a tight, overcrowded place, and annihilated most of them. The Muslims did not know about the victory that had greeted the victorious right, and the defeat that had afflicted the Tatars, so some of them took to the road, and turned—which is one of the indubitable signs of defeat—fleeing pell-mell to Damascus.

When they entered it, the [news of the] Islamic armies' defeat spread far and wide, so that people were in a daze, and both the desert-dwellers and the city-dwellers were anxious. Some of the weak-hearted fleers even arrived at Jacob's Bridge,<sup>45</sup> and some of them even came to Gaza.

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<sup>44</sup> As stated previously, Khālid b. al-Walīd was the original Muslim conqueror of Syria.

<sup>45</sup> Over the Jordan River.

When the Tatars saw that they had defeated them [the left] and were victorious over them, they dismounted from their horses, upon the field that is near Ḥimṣ Dam, expecting the arrival of their fellows, certain of the profit reaped from their swordplay, but not knowing that the latter had been defeated. They turned and went back, so when this took a long time for them, they sent those who would give them reports.

When the reconnaissance returned and informed them of what had already transpired, they rode their horses, having lost their minds, returning backwards, catching up with their fellows. The Sultan was standing in his location, continuing firmly in his place, not retiring in slightest, with a few men of the junior mamluks about him. None of the heavyweights of the armies were around him, because the army had dispersed; some had gone in hot pursuit of the enemy, while some had turned fleeing because they thought that the latter had the upper hand.

So the Sultan decided because of [199] the resolution to fold up the standards, to conceal the battle flags (*bayāriq*), and to cease [beating] the kettledrums, when the Tatar right flank passed him by, returning back on its heels, saving themselves like flies, they saw the Sultan standing among the people who were around him. [Even though] they were thick around him, they did not advance towards him. Instead, they sought the Rastan Road in order to catch up with their fellows. They hastened in going, and were not guided to their target.

*They turned into prey for death—you see them among the ranks raising dust  
and bellowing,  
You fear the fire of swords, while their [battle] day has passed with the fires  
of heat blazing,  
Wild animals swear not to eat their roasted meat, except that which is well  
cooked during the hottest part of the day!*

The various short missives (*baṭā'iq*) were written, and the birds fit with proclamations were sent away. Some of the left flank that had tasted the bitterness of defeat returned, and the people rejoiced in the victory of the resolute that God had given to their Sultan al-Manṣūr (the Victorious). Those who turned and fled were disappointed, but the patient, steadfast ones were propitious and gained the most generous portion of the glory.

The Sultan returned that day to the camp, and saw with his own eyes the slain strewn around. The armor and pavilions had all been looted from it, between what the Tatars had looted, and what the vagabonds (*ḥarāfīsh*)<sup>46</sup> and scavengers (*kassāba*) had looted. The Sultan did not think for a minute about the fabric or gold that was gone, as prior to when eye set upon eye [in battle]

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<sup>46</sup> On this term, see *EF* “ḥarfūsh” (W. Brinner).



he had protected the money (*`ayn*) in the treasury, and had disbursed purses among his mamluks—in each purse there was 1000 dinars. This was for them to carry until the battle clarified things and returning it would be agreed upon.

When the chests were looted, people found the treasury chests empty of money, so not even a *mithqāl*'s weight of it was lost.<sup>47</sup> The total of it was 200,000 dinars. I carried one such purse at the time of its disbursal, and returned it in its totality, safely.

The Sultan spent that night while the armies were dispersed, the troops scattered, the horses west and east, while the people returned. Hope overcame despair, and when it was the dawn of Friday, the day after the battle, a crier rose in the camp to wake the sleepers, so people thought that the Tatars had returned to scavenge, and that they had returned to battle at unawares.

Therefore, the Sultan rode, and those mamluks who were with him in the royal tent rode, and the standard-bearers (*al-sanjaqiyya*), but the report was revealed to be false after an hour, as a number of the army that had been pursuing the defeated Tatars returned to the pavilion. The morning of the blessed Friday, 15 of the month of [200] Rajab [October 30, 1281] dawned, while the enemy had turned fleeing, without having reached their goal, and the Islamic armies trailed them in pursuit, succeeding in killing, taking prisoner, looting and taking captives.

The proclamations and congratulations were sounded, hopes and wishes were realized, and the noble circular letter with these reports was written to all the four corners, while fast horses ran fleetly with the victory to the cities. Every town, city or border fortress on the borders of Islam in Egypt or Syria had the proclamations announced in them, and letters of victory were read from the pulpits.

The time was clothed in brightness and splendor, and every soul was filled with happiness. The letters were dispatched to the fortresses close to the ways the Tatars had while taken fleeing, such as al-Bīra, `Ayntāb, Baghrās, al-Darbsāk, al-Rāwandān, Abū Qubays and Shayzar that they should be on the lookout. Ten of them were killed for every one of the Muslims, and the inhabitants of al-Bīra guarded the crossings and fords from the direction of the Euphrates [River] against them from going east.

Most of them crossed without finding a crossing, so most of them perished by drowning. More were killed in the defeat than were killed while meeting [in battle]. This turn went against them.<sup>48</sup> Numbers did not avail them, and God sent down His help upon the Muslims.

The Sultan commanded that fires be kindled in large jars upon the Euphrates, so many of them died attempting to conceal themselves. As for the Salamiyya Path, a band of them took it, but perished. There was a group at al-Raḥba

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<sup>47</sup> A *mithqāl* was approximately a dirham and a half weight.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Q17:6.



with Abagha besieging it, but when the letters arrived, and the proclamations were sounded, the Tatars began screaming, and turned fleeing. Abagha also turned, fleeing, and went towards Baghdad, fearing that the people of the towns would take him or the settled and nomadic people would kidnap him.

The Sultan sent the Aleppan army to Aleppo, the Ḥamān army to Ḥamāh, and dispatched the emir Badr al-Dīn al-Aydimurī to pacify the lands, and organize them. The emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur al-ashqar returned to Ṣahyūn, but as for the emir Sayf al-Dīn Aytimish al-Sa`dī, `Alam al-Dīn al-Dawādārī, Kirāy [= Giray] al-Tatarī, and his son, Tamājī, and a number of the emirs who had been with him, they desired to return to the noble service. So they returned, and the Sultan returned to Damascus, with the prisoners being driven on before him in shackles.

Those bows, standards and drums that had belonged to them were carried, and it was among the greatest days, the sweetest in proclamation among the people, and the most victorious in proclamation at any time of this amazing victory and remarkable plenty that was never seen in the previous times. The Tatar army never confronted [201] these homelands with the likes of this many, nor did it attack prior to this period with even a small part of this number.

When a little band<sup>49</sup> of them moved, the armies were terrified, and the greats were faint-hearted. Even al-Malik al-Zāhir feared their tread, so praise to the one who caused them to perish by firmness, this hero king in a stance during which feet slip. He aided his army by his strong-heartedness, which confronted the conflicts within his breast, and held fast against arrows, even they were almost alongside his neck.

### **Mention of the lines composed concerning these raids**

The judge Faṭḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir, the confidential secretary of al-Manṣūr, and the inspector of the Correspondence Chancellery, remembers the battle with a formal poem collected on its circumstances, which is:

*God gave you, neither Zayd nor `Amr has a part in this giving—it was conquest and victory!  
This place which had you not occupied it, by God, would not have stood,  
neither Syria nor Egypt,  
Who is the one who can meet such an enemy, or put armor on a single person,  
as long as that person has patience,  
O al-Malik al-Manṣūr, your troops have crushed the Mongols in a way from  
which there is no recovery,*

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<sup>49</sup> Q26:54.

*And they uprooted the enemies, and were victorious, while you were steady;  
 fast; fear and panic yet remain,  
 The tellers told not the like of this resolution, and a stand whose mention  
 has passed through this world,  
 When the army of Abagha did wrong in its rashness, spears would be  
 extended to him as a bridge,  
 The Mongols and Takfūr [Leon of Armenia] sought to gather, conspiring  
 with the Franks, and those who wear unbelief,  
 80,000 came from their expeditions to the land of Hims, which there was the  
 expedition and gathering,  
 The two armies (khamīsān) clashed on Thursday (yawm al-khamīs) just  
 before noon, and the battle continued until late afternoon prayers were  
 called,  
 While the sword prostrated, the flags were raised, and heads bowed without  
 amazement or arrogance,  
 Horses only strode on corpses, and the plain was uneven because of the  
 heads of the slain,  
 How marvelous that white (swords) were sheathed in bloody and brown  
 sheathes—(see) what the brown does!  
 Coming in the wide-treed places to sword, spear, this breaking and slaughter  
 in amazement,  
 Their safest ones were those who handed it over, having it tied up, or imprisonment  
 taking it away, [202]  
 Their horseman rested the somnolence of their foot soldiers, to whom wild  
 animals come, or can no longer spring up,  
 None of them can manage his flock, nor change them by thinking well of  
 them,  
 Thursday, mid-Rajab, year [6]80 was this conquest and victory,  
 Our Sultan al-Manṣūr returned victoriously, so praise be to God, praise and  
 thanks!*

The judge Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir his father composed some lines in which he described the Sultan, and his good experience, positive effect and copious wealth:

*God has a standing-place in Hims upon which he stood, while the Fire  
 burned between the spearheads,  
 While the people fled without wasting a minute; everyone had fled so there  
 was no one to halt it,  
 However, there was a band who with the angels' aid hastened to clear victory,  
 There Khālid [b. al-Walīd] had protected his guest, and the guest of Khālid  
 is not one of those who are perturbed,  
 He twists the reins, and they will not be untwisted until there is an out for  
 the religion from the enemies' rule,*

*Were they to wish for aggression, he will dominate it, they will not be saved  
 from those who took their children captive,  
 Were it not for the one who restrains the sea, not a single jewel would be  
 extracted from it,  
 The morning, were it not for him being one of its shooting stars, slow-movers  
 would not miss his flash of lightning,  
 The night, were it not for him being part of its blackness, would not light up  
 with piercing shooting-stars,  
 Victory, were he not part of its sword, there would have been no release from  
 disaster in existence,  
 A garden, were it not mandated in his letters, perfume would not waft to the  
 horizons from it,  
 Clouds, were it not for his generosity, there would be no snow from them at  
 the beginning of the season,  
 The fire, were it not for his disapproval, burning heat from it would not burn  
 the enemies,  
 Composed praise of him is thoughtful, none can put back together what his  
 spear tears asunder,  
 You are satisfied with one more awe-inspiring than him from atop the  
 swift-moving horses, and one with parted-eyebrows under the helmet.*

Nāšir al-Dīn Ḥasan b. al-Naqīb, one of the Kināniyya, who was a genius in the literary and poetic arts, remembered this Maṣṣūrī victory:

*The greatest victory is the most amazing grace, being the word and spirit,  
 proclamation and good news, [203]  
 Being the loftiest goal, which is the gift that has ennobled fate and made  
 remembrance amazing,  
 It is the "deaf" battle, and the consuming fire in which unbelief was broken,  
 and did not find an out,  
 This was a sudden slaughter, and a victory over Abagha, that healed the  
 heart, and cooled the chest,  
 Our sword blades gained power over Ṣamghār, so he fell upon the chin, with-  
 out prostrating in gratitude,  
 Flags were thrown down, and Mengū Temūr's (army) units routed, like a  
 lion in battle but more tenacious,  
 So when he saw him coming down, they fought over it a fight in which white  
 (swords) and brown cut,  
 So when he was saved from it, his flank ride was made to ride, turning, and  
 son, father and in-law were left alone,  
 Going wounded, bloody, patiently, attacking, and complaining of his burn-  
 ing injury,  
 Say to the Mongol heads: Qalāwūn is the sword that strikes (=cuts) your  
 necks and conquers,*

*He is al-Malik al-Manṣūr (the Victorious King) and God abandons his enemies, and helps him,*  
*He is the repeatedly charging commander in the thick of battle, when champions hold back filled with apprehension,*  
*He is the aggressive lion against those aggressors; he is the guiding moon when the night darkens,*  
*He is the army's leader, numerous behind him, towards the Khan in Mūghān seeking him openly,*  
*Armies fill the earth from every direction, gathering until the number has passed counting,*  
*Seeing them you would imagine that it is the Resurrection made apparent to his eyes in this world, with the Reckoning and the Gathering,*  
*Wild animals are not saved from it when it erupts, nor birds in the skies when they pass by,*  
*So say to the Tatars lacking in intelligence: You forgot that the Turks' swords strike cutting off (limbs),*  
*How many times they have crushed you, not counting the slain nor talking the prisoners into account,*  
*Abagha visited you after you were slaughtered, his tears were made into coals upon you,*  
*His huge fright is worthy of being heard afield, so he fled to Tūrīz (Tabriz?) to put it behind him,*  
*Were he to fortify himself in Ghumdān castle<sup>50</sup> looking for safety, it would not be sufficient for him to stay and abide,*  
*In clamorous war you should tell of Sayf al-Dīn,<sup>51</sup> for that is the hero of which stories tell,*  
*His attacks are not lost upon you, and for such a long time you have tasted the bitterness of his (spear-) piercing,*  
*Have you forgotten what happened in `Ayn Jālūt, when the spring was running with your blood for a day? [204]*  
*And what happened at the Euphrates [River] ford when the vanguard of the army crossed it to you?*  
*Or what happened on the Day of al-Balastayn<sup>52</sup> when your eyes looked past it bloodshot?*  
*Within the blink of an eye or the toss of a rock upon you the sword-blade decided the matter,*  
*During the (battlefield) meeting between Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāh the sword which cuts life met you,*

<sup>50</sup> In Yemen.

<sup>51</sup> Qalāwūn.

<sup>52</sup> Balastayn = Iblastayn in eastern central Anatolia, commanding the approaches to the Seljuq Rum region from the east.

*His horsemen trampled you with hooves, digging for a grave in every rock,  
 How many of you were buried by wolves and vultures, wailing when you saw  
 these carnivores?  
 The words of the ruler of Sīs deceived you, so how many deceive with clever  
 words and are deceived?  
 When the Turks promised him that they would visit him, even if the land of  
 Sīs was carpeted with coals,  
 Now you are knowledgeable of their truth in promises, but they left neither  
 word nor made excuse,  
 Both heart and back break from the number in the ground from Hūlegū's  
 wars with the Turks,  
 From Baybars' number, Qalāwūn protected both Syria and Egypt from  
 their enemies,  
 God has given the time of the living and the dead from the both of them  
 clouds covering the earth with cloaks of green,  
 Living and reviving, ascending after descending, removing care from the  
 hearts made happy,  
 The day's sun amazes me when it appears in spite of the description remind-  
 ing me of the full moon (badr),  
 Baghdad hopes that he will go towards it, and redeem it from them by force  
 with swords,  
 Who will inform the Great Khan that God has given them from him respect  
 and victory?  
 The Mongol Tatars will not credit that they changed in their opinion or hid  
 treachery,  
 But hearts suffused with gratitude in this world or of wage in the next did  
 not change towards them,  
 Birds having been frightened from their nests because something imagined  
 causing fear and caution,  
 Until the imagination is quelled, then they return hastily seeking the chicks  
 and nesting shelter,  
 Only bodies disintegrate with sickness, while hearts and memory are  
 altogether,  
 Stars' radiance does not separate from its heavens, the water from its water-  
 course, nor the water-bead from wine,  
 If they become separate, then hearts are all at enmity having fashioned thought,  
 Satan has already interposed between Joseph and his brothers so they  
 desired evil of him,  
 But the rule passed to him near its nobleman (ʿAzīz),<sup>53</sup> so by that he had the  
 beginning and the end,  
 His brothers came to him in need that caused them to turn to him, demand-  
 ing of him treacherously,*

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<sup>53</sup> It is not clear whether al-ʿAzīz (=Potiphar) in Q12:30 is a name or a title.

*So he gave to them from what was with him, supplied them with food, provided them with wheat, surpassing them in respect, [205]*  
*He had said: There is no finding fault with you afterwards, as he had already begged God to forgive them,*  
*The Sultan of Egypt follows in the footsteps of Joseph, acquiring God's reward, praise and gratitude,*  
*And knows that God preferred him over them in that He gave him the Tatars in grace,*  
*For good, God desired King Qalāwūn, thereby reviving Islam, and the pre-eminent community,*  
*Preserving the Muslims' sanctity by his sword, so that widows would not be taken captive, nor virgins defiled,*  
*All inhabitants of Egypt are his freedmen, so there is no wonder that both the slave and the freeborn are considered slaves,*  
*Similarly, the inhabitants of Syria and others, all of them are dragged into servitude,*  
*To benefit the borderlands of the religion and the Muslims what will prepare them for continual victory and proclamation,*  
*Returning the kingdom of the earth to the king in peace, just as the pearly necklace, then covers the throat,*  
*Congratulate Mecca's inhabitants with this victory, and also the Grand House and the Hujr,<sup>54</sup>*  
*And also those who dwell in the land of Ṭayyiba [Medina], inhabiting both inside and outside,*  
*The heir-apparent's face is a blessed face for the religion and this world, and all its inhabitants,*  
*He is the Righteous (=al-Ṣāliḥ) the king who made us safe from the enemies, and time and impoverished (Sufis),*  
*He continues above me in glory and ability, seeing below him al-Iklīl,<sup>55</sup> al-Ghafar and Sirius,*  
*Qalāwūn's sword was Dhū al-Fiqār,<sup>56</sup> and how he wielded it as a sword and was victorious,*  
*The flags continue to wave behind them, while no (battle-)day could conceal mention of this (battle-)day.*

Another, who was Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. `Umar al-Manjībī al-Bazzāz, declaimed from an epic poem which he composed:

*By your victory flags waved on high, O you by whose name Islam takes a good omen,*

<sup>54</sup> The inner sanctum of the Grand Mosque in Mecca.

<sup>55</sup> Three stars in Scorpio.

<sup>56</sup> Sword of `Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

*According to the manner of right guidance, light begins tomorrow from him  
victorious over the dark manner of error,  
He led the people in congratulations, so everyone who meets him is on the  
verge of happiness,  
With the victorious (=Manṣūr) lord, and the king who demonstrates his  
lionlike fortitude towards calamity,  
A hero king, continuing to have youthfulness and passion for the first-born  
of good qualities,  
Whoever controls his resolution, God is your neighbor; resolution notching  
the sword, which is sharp, [206]  
When the numerous Mongol army was heard, which tread on Syria and was  
going to the Pyramids,  
Trampling upon your lands, their kings not shunning your glorious and  
great dominion,  
But you went towards them leading a number, felicity surrounded them, the  
glorious victory,  
An army hemmed in by a numerous army on the plain, an army like the sea,  
the waves overflowing,  
It attacked Khalid's depression, camps were pitched there the number of the  
shining stars,  
You studied their their claim-making, then left them when they were lines  
ready for meeting (in battle),  
And stood ready on the watch for horse the morning of war, after breaking  
the fast,  
Until on Thursday (khamīs) their army (khamīs) came, and it was as if  
there were clouds under the dusty sky,  
The horizons were fastened by them, until we said: Darkness has begun  
before noon,  
The dust was night, while the spearheads stars, and the unsheathed swords  
like glowing lightning,  
If you had witnessed them thrusting spears, you would have seen how they  
strive for death,  
It was a day in which God's religion was almost damaged at the hands of the  
polytheist tyrants (ṭughāt),  
Islam was surrounded by One whose grace is continuously a sword for the  
Muslims,  
And who aided them with moon-faced men from his territories, so caused  
Badr al-Dīn to return, when it was complete,  
You met their army with a firm heart, increasing for a power, firmness of  
understanding,  
On a narrow battlefield, overcast with its rain from clouds, swords of mush-  
rooms heaped,  
But you loosened its being hemmed in, and for its fire, there was a blaze set  
and kindled burning,*

*You raided their Turks with Turks like them, so you cut the ties of kinship  
 between them,  
 And set your swords among them as if on the tops of their heads there many  
 owls,<sup>57</sup>  
 Bringing them after the Euphrates to Syria (sha'm) with ill-omen (shu'm)  
 for the Rūm after their perishing,  
 You left them in the land of Hims, when most of them were food for the wild  
 animals of your land and birds,  
 You turned to spite the rubbish of their gathering, and in contempt at its  
 religion of error,  
 They sought safety, but there is none for the one fleeing the fear of your  
 might, no right compels him,  
 So they ended up thirsty, nothing to drip on the wounded, while deep hunger  
 leads,  
 We have hope because of their uprooting, praise to God, for pains in our  
 souls, [207]  
 You took care of Islam, with an eye, whose eyelid was open towards its  
 subjects without sleeping,  
 You continue to be al-Manṣūr of the encounter (battle), victorious, as long  
 as lightning flashes and clouds give rain.*

The Sultan departed from protected Damascus returning to the Egyptian homelands, so he arrived there on Saturday 22 Sha`bān of this year [December 13, 1281]. He entered the city, which had been adorned with all types of decoration, while the Tatar prisoners were bound before him, with the heads of their slain on their spears, and some of the prisoners carrying their broken standards and drums.

The victorious Islamic armies, the happy Muḥammadan (Muslim) community and the Manṣūrī and Khalīfatī groups spread out, while time in beauty wore a splendid garb, and put forth its best display. This world was almost swaggering, acting haughty; the plains and mountains resounding with proclamations. The decorations were just about everywhere and even the inanimate objects, had they a tongue, would have liked to express gratitude for this goodness.

The emirs, the *mafārīda*, notables, and bureaucrats all received robes of honor, so wore the honorary gifts, kissing the earth on Monday 24 Sha`bān [December 8, 1281]. The courtiers (*unasā'*) all presented themselves before him, singing epic poems composed on the occasion of this victory, which included descriptions of the battle and the defeat [of the Mongols].

There were lines worked on by the emir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Fāriqānī, one of the emirs of ten, who was a clever Turkish man, other than he was

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<sup>57</sup> The owl is one of the omens of death in classical Arabic poetry.



unable to write or read. He would arrange meter for poetry naturally and compose materials that the ears would not reject, even if it contained common errors (*malhūn*), it did not fall short. He would do it sweetly, and no one would critique the common errors. One of these lines begins:

*Islam began with new felicity, preparing it for clients (mawālī) and slaves*

And:

*We passed through Syria leading a massive army, not counting the Bedouin and levies,*

*The scouts told a tale of a group in the land of the Rūm with the post horses, So we went when they did, meeting close to Ḥimṣ clothed in iron,*

*Victory went to al-Manṣūr (the Victorious), aided by the attention of Khālid b. al-Walīd,*

*When you wish to greet (him) congratulating, then hasten to the standards and flags (bunūd),*

*You will see a self-controlled king under them, keeping his agreements and covenants,*

*He is al-Manṣūr, favorite of the fates, when the flames of war light up,*

*Coming like the clouds with the Egyptian army, and kettledrums like sounds of thunder, [208]*

*It has a battle from which the earth resounds; the horizons of existence thunder from it,*

*Swords flash in it like lightning, crashing the bones against the skin,*

*Ask from Hūlegū about Qalāwūn, and then ask the Prince and the Count (kanūd),<sup>58</sup>*

*His two hands are still at his enemy, occupied with helping the (good) omens, Kings of the earth continues to gather for him, as long as he lives, just like slaves,*

*May God recompense him for the creatures, and cause him to dwell in the gardens of immortality!*

**The author says**, may God grant him clemency: these lines had many mistakes, in spite of their correct meter, so whichever [case] endings could be corrected were during the composition.<sup>59</sup>

**In this blessed year** envoys of al-Malik al-Muzaffar Shams al-Dīn Ibn Rasūl, of the ruler of Yemen, arrived to the Sultan, who were the emir Majd al-Dīn b. Abū al-Qāsim<sup>60</sup> and the judge Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. al-Bīlqānī.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Presumably Bohemond VII of Tripoli, who fought on the side of the Mongols.

<sup>59</sup> Baybars is being very diplomatic; this poem is almost child-like in its simplicity.

<sup>60</sup> On him see al-Hamdānī, *Ṣimṭ al-ghālī*, pp. 47, 59, 62, 69, 75, 89, 92, 104.

<sup>61</sup> On him, see al-Janādī, *al-Sulūk*, ii, pp. 430, 432.

Glorious Yemenite gifts of wood, ambergris, Indian red silk (*al-lānas*), china-ware (*al-ṣīnī*), leather (*nuṭū*), Qanā spears (*rimāḥ al-qanā*), and other things accompanied them.

Their arrival at the sultanic gates was when he was in the Syrian lands, so they were given accommodation in the guesthouses, and daily sustenance was allotted to them, and they were treated with respect and honor. When the Sultan arrived those previously mentioned came out to meet him, and they witnessed the magnitude of these processions and the attractiveness of the armies, which resembled the stars in number and light.

They saw the Tatars taken prisoner who were the remainder of the sword (fighters), so they were amazed and moved to pleasure from what they saw. When the Sultan was settled in the Citadel, and he sat in the Kāmālī Hall, the Yemeni envoys were brought before him, and the gifts were presented. Their rarities and delicacies were shown to him, and he gifted those he wished upon the emirs, the commanders, and the greats.

He thanked the ones who gave them, and listened to the verbal communication of the envoys delivering his [the Yemeni ruler's] message. It amounted to asking the Sultan if he would please send to him a garment (*qamīṣ*) of safe conduct. The following should be written upon it:

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate,

This is God Most High's safe-conduct, may He be praised, the safe conduct of our lord Muḥammad, may the prayers and peace of God be upon him, and the safe conduct of our brother the Sultan al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Shams al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn Yūsuf b. `Umar, ruler of the protected Yemen. We watch over him and his children, render safe those who bestow safety upon them, render enmity to those who treat them with enmity, aiding those who aid them, abandoning those who abandon them.

We will only be satisfied for him and his children [209] with what satisfies us, and will not accept the slander of a slanderer, nor the word of a calumniator with regard to him, nor will harm from us be directed at him for all time, our lives, as long as he keeps the provisions of our friendship which we have verbalized to the emir Majd al-Dīn his envoy.

So he wrote this for him on a garment, and it was written on Saturday 6 great Ramaḍān year 680 [December 19, 1281]. This is our handwriting that bears witness against us, and God is responsible for what we say.

The envoys asked that the Sultan and his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ write this in their own handwriting upon the garment, so they assented to that, and both wrote upon it in their handwriting.

The Sultan sent with them the emir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Muḥsinī al-Jazarī, the chamberlain, and the judge Sharaf al-Dīn b. Farah, one of the

scribes of the correspondence, sending with them valuables, fabrics, and a piece of green emerald, together with one of the Tatar horses (*akādīsh*) of the abandoned enemy, plus some of their provisions and the food they had brought with them.

Part of the letter which went out to him was written in description of it [the battle], that he had sent in that snares by which one could hunt best, a calf by which fixed times would be cut back, even if man was created for haste.<sup>62</sup> The envoys proceeded, accompanied by the gifts, the kindnesses, the valuables, through the like of which presentation is made better.

**In it** envoys of the Lascarid king [Michael VIII], ruler of Constantinople, arrived with many gifts. This was because the Sultan, when he sat in the dominion, considered its situation, and began to do what kings do, sending an envoy in each direction specifically. He sent to Qaidu, king of the Tatars in the eastlands, who is Qaidu son of Qushi (Qujī) son of Ṭulū<sup>63</sup> son of Genghis Khan urging him to attack his enemies, and inciting him to raid.

He also sent to Mengū Temūr, king of the Tatars in the northlands, to inform him of his sitting upon the kingly rank, and establishment in the sultanate of the Islamic realms, to renew the attachment (lit. love) with him, and to incite him to fight the unbelievers and apostates.

He also sent to the Lascarid, king of Constantinople, because he was the ruler over those parts, and the owner of those roads.<sup>64</sup> The (sultanic) gates' envoys would only be able to travel through there, and would only be able to achieve their goals with his attention. The answer returned effusive with good feeling and willingness to assist in exchanging envoys and advance agents (*quṣṣād*). He asked the Sultan for an oath by which to take hold, so he swore to him, and then sent envoys to swear him as well. The envoy to him was the emir Najm al-Dīn al-Shuwayḥī. [210]

### **Mention of the truces that were established with the Franks, according to what will be mentioned**

**In it** a truce was established between the Sultan and his son together, and the commander of the Hospitaller order, and all the Hospitaller brethren for the period of ten complete, consecutive years, ten months, ten days, and ten hours, the first of which was Saturday, 12 Muḥarram year 680 [May 3, 1281] which corresponds to 3 Ayyar year 1573 from Alexander son of Philip the Greek, which covers all the lands of the Sultan, and the regions, realms, castles, cities, fortresses, lands, villages, agricultural lands, (other) lands, ports, seas, docks, border fortresses, and the rest of the lands from the Euphrates

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<sup>62</sup> A number of puns on *ajal* and *`ajal*, apparently remembered fondly by Baybars.

<sup>63</sup> Actually Ogödei.

<sup>64</sup> The commercial routes to the Golden Horde.

[River] to Nubia. It covers the merchants, the travelers, both on land and sea, plain and mountain, during night and day, and Marqab castle, plus the enclosure of Marqab in its rights and responsibilities.<sup>65</sup>

Truce is established with the would-be king of Tripoli, Bohemond [VII] son of Bohemond [VI], for the period of ten complete, continuous and consecutive years, each of which will follow the other, the first of which is on Saturday 17 Rabī' al-Awwal year 680 [July 6, 1281] which corresponds to 5 Tammūz year 1592 from Alexander, with the end of it 17 Rabī' al-Awwal year 690 [March 20, 1291] of the prophetic *hijra*.

This is applicable to the lands of the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr, and the lands of his son al-Malik al-Şāliḥ, may God glorify aiding them, both near and far, plains and mountains, valleys and elevated land, old and renewed, and what is adjacent to Tripoli, and bounds it from the Ba'lbakan realm, in its totality, its hills, its proximate villages and hilltop villages, the hills of al-Ḍanniyyīn and al-Qaşabīn,<sup>66</sup> and that which is part of them and its dues.

Applicable to the newer conquest lands, which are Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, its lands, Iflīs, its lands, al-Qulay'āt, its lands, Şāfītā, its lands, Mī'ār, its lands, Aṭilī'ā, its lands, Ḥiṣn 'Akkār, its lands, Maraḳiyya, its city and lands, and its condominium, which is the lands of al-Lukma, and the condominium of Marqab, which is included in the truce with the Hospitallers' House, Balda, its city and lands, those fortresses, villages and lands of the Lady which are considered to be part of it, and known to be part of it, Balaṭīnus, its lands, Qurfays, its lands, Jabala, the lands of Latakia, Antioch, its lands, al-Suwaydiyya, its port, the fortress of Baghrās, the fortress of Dayr Kūsh, its lands, Shuḳayf [211] Talmīs, its lands, Kafr Dunayn,<sup>67</sup> its lands, al-Darbsāk, its lands, the border fortresses of al-Shughr and Bakās, their lands, al-Quşayr, its lands, Şahyūn, its lands, Birziyya, its districts, al-Qulay'a, its districts, 'Īdhūn,<sup>68</sup> its districts, Mişyāf, its lands, the fortresses of the [Ismaili] mission, and those lands and fortresses of which it is comprised, which are al-Qadmūs, al-Kahf, al-Manīqa,<sup>69</sup> al-Khawābī, al-Ruṣāfā, al-Qulay'a, al-Ullayqa.

The Aleppan realm, its fortresses, cities, and lands, Shayzar, Abū Qubays, its lands, the Ḥamān realm, its lands, the Ḥimşan realm, its lands, all

<sup>65</sup> Compare trans. in Holt, pp. 62–5.

<sup>66</sup> Following Holt.

<sup>67</sup> Holt reads Kafr Dubbīn.

<sup>68</sup> Following Holt.

<sup>69</sup> Following Holt, from al-Maynqa in the text.

of the realms, fortresses, lands, castles, border fortresses, towers, ports, coasts, dry lands, rivers, gardens, fisheries, salt-pans, level or hilly, inhabited or waste belonging to our master the Sultan, together with all the cities (*amṣār*), whether Egyptian or Syrian, coastal or Ḥijāzī, west or east, whatever realms or fortresses God will conquer at his hand, his son's hand, his armies hand, or his garrison units' hand.

Applicable to the Prince's lands, which are Tripoli, what is included it in, and considered to be part of it, Anafa, its lands, Jubayl, its lands, the city of Botrun, its districts, Ṣanam Jubayl,<sup>70</sup> its lands, and `Arqā, its lands are specified in the truce. Its number is 51 sub-districts, what belongs to the knights, the churches, numbering 21 towns, and what belongs to the knight Roger de la Valée to the south of Tripoli will be a condominium.

On the condition that the tower of Latakia, and whatever is renovated in it, is established as belonging specifically to the Prince, and the envoys of both sides from the city of Latakia and its port, as far as levying dues, taxes, stores, and anything else as a condominium.

Its place in the city of Latakia is established in accord with the provisions of the Zāhirī era truce; in the same manner with regard to the subjects of the city of Latakia and its lands in accord with what the Zāhirī era truce contains.

On the condition that there shall be stationed on the Artūsiyya Bridge 16 men from the young male slaves (*ghilmān*) of the Sultan in order to maintain his rights and (guard against) escape/smuggling (*falat*). They will be an overseer, his boy slave, a notary, his boy slave, a scribe, his boy slave, and ten men-at-arms to assist the overseer. They will have quarters on the bridge in which to dwell, as is usual. No harm will come to the Prince's subjects from them. They will forbid those forbidden articles that it is necessary to forbid. They will not forbid what is coming from `Arqā, its lands, or the stores that cross over from it, and from its lands, of those items it produces, according to what the truce attests, either summer, winter, or other, of what is connected to `Arqā and its lands—the overseer will not harass them during it.

Anything else of what is crossing from the lands of our master the Sultan, dues will be taken. No stores shall enter Tripoli under the protection of the Prince or his soldiers (*aṣḥāb*) without taking dues from them. [212]

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<sup>70</sup> Following Holt.

On the condition that the Prince does not make renovations outside of his city, nor in the lands upon which this truce is applicable, whether preventative or offensive. On the condition that the galleys of both sides are safe from the other.

In the same way our master the Sultan will not make renovations in the construction of a castle built from the foundation, bordering the lands upon which this truce is applicable, nor will the truce be abrogated by the death of one of the two sides, nor shall it be changed, neither by a foreign Frankish man, nor by the Tatars, but this truce shall [continue to] be in force.

Whenever a man should bring something unusual (*gharība*),<sup>71</sup> speaking deceitfully to them concerning his land, or himself, one should not take counsel that will lead to undertaking evil or despised actions. Nor should one treat the enemies of our master the Sultan well, establish agreement with them by sign, writing, exchange of envoys, correspondence, speaking to them face-to-face.

The situation was established on this basis, and the envoys of each side returned to where they came from.

**In it** the Franks took the island of Jirba from the Muslims.<sup>72</sup> This island is part of the district of Gabes; the distance to it is one day. Its circumference is 76 miles, and it is filled with gardens, springs, and rivers. There is a ford by which one arrives from the dry land of Gabes.

It has been continuously in the Muslims' hands, while its people were safe, tranquil until this year, when it departed from them. The reason for the Franks' taking it over was a dispute among its people, and that was that there were two factions, one of which was called al-Wahbiyya, whose shaykh was named Muḥammad b. al-Sammūman, while the other was named al-Nakāra, and its shaykh was named Khalaf b. Amghur. The meaning of Amghur in Berber is "the elder."<sup>73</sup>

Both of these two factions is obedient to the ruler of Tūnis, levying the land (*kharāj*) tax for him, so the Admiral (*al-maraliya*), deputy of

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<sup>71</sup> The phrasing of this is odd; Holt, p. 65, translates "If an invader should come," which does not have support from the text.

<sup>72</sup> Compare al-Jirbī, pp. 44, 49; and note the contemporary accounts of al-Qadīdī in al-Dabbāgh, *Ma'ālim*, iv, p. 58 (concerning "an enemy of the religion" attacking from the sea at Sousse), and p. 69 (the invasion of Mahdiyya).

<sup>73</sup> According to <https://www.livelingua.com/peace-corps/Tamazight/Tamazight-English-Dictionary-2007.pdf> *amġar* = "old person, chief."

Frederico son of the King of Aragon the Barcelonan, ruler of Sicily,<sup>74</sup> attacked them with his fleet (*amāra*) and galleys, squeezing them a number of times. Battles have occurred between them, and many people from them have been killed.

While this was occurring they requested assistance from Abū Ḥaḥṣ `Umar, ruler of Tūnis, but he did not render them any. The matter became difficult for them, and the Admiral gained power over them, taking it from them. He imposed upon them the building of a fortress next to the sea, so they built a castle there, whereupon he assigned men and weapons for it, and levied 100,000 dinars every year as their *kharāj* tax.

This continued until the Admiral died in the year 700/1300, and what happened to them will be related in its place, if God wills. [213]

### **Mention of the death of Mengū Temūr, son of Hūlegū, during the above year**

We have mentioned that the Mengū Temūr son of Hūlegū was the one who was present at the Battle of Ḥimṣ as a deputy to Abagha, his brother. This was when Abagha resolved to attack the Syrian lands, and to come against the Islamic realms, he placed Mengū Temūr his brother in command over it, marking out a troop (*jawk*)<sup>75</sup> before him.

Then he asked him: “What is it that you want?” so he said: “I choose to remain commander over the army, and in the battlefield, and deputy in the realm, in order to increase it at the expense of its neighbors and to grant it respite from others interfering in it.” He assented to this request, and made him commander over his armies, sending him off.

He went leading the Tatar armies, while Abagha followed him in his footsteps leading 20,000 or more than that. He camped at al-Raḥba as we mentioned, while Mengū Temūr advanced. During the meeting [in battle] what happened happened, and God cast him into abandonment, so he was defeated, being followed, turning as runaways, and returned eastwards with a minimal number, and minimal supplies.

Sorrow overcame him, and bitterness rushed upon him, so he stayed at Jazīrat Ibn `Umar, engrossed, depressed, so his life ended, and it was time for his death.

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<sup>74</sup> Probably this is Roger of Lauria (d. 1305), who although he did not die in 700/1300 as the text says, did fade from public life at that date. See John Pryor, “The Naval Battles of Roger of Lauria,” in Susan Rose (ed.), *Medieval Ships and Warfare* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 295–332 at pp. 305–11 (= *Journal of Medieval History* 9 [1983], pp. 179–216).

<sup>75</sup> Probably the Farsi *jūq* “a troop.”

It was said that `Alā' al-Dīn `Aṭā' Malik al-Juwayni, chief of the Baghdad Chancellery, had resolved to assassinate him, and to assassinate his brother Abagha, and transfer the rulership away from them because of a matter he feared would be exposed. There was on the island a mayor (*shihna*) named Mu'min Aghā, so the aforementioned `Aṭā' Malik sent to him, commanding him to come up with a stratagem for killing Mengü Temür.

So Mu'min slipped him some poison, then he died. When he died the aforementioned mayor departed from the island, and fled, together with two of his sons in fear from this crime. The relatives of Mengü Temür realized the truth of the matter, so began to search after him to kill him, but they did not find him. So they rounded up his womenfolk, and those children he had left behind, then killed them down to the very last one.

Mu'min presented himself in the Egyptian homelands, together with his two sons, and they were given *iqṭā'* fiefs in it, continuing to stay there until he died afterwards.

Mengü Temür was carried to Talā, then buried there. There was only a short interval between his defeat and his fate, and that was the complete conquest, the perfect bullseye and success.

**In this aforementioned year** also the previously-mentioned distinguished `Alā' al-Dīn `Aṭā' al-Juwaynī, the chief of the Baghdad Chancellery, died. He was a great and meritorious leader, capable, cultured, and a poet. It is confirmed that Abagha [214] punished him at this interval, as he was certain that he had facilitated the Muslims in the defeat [of Mengü Temür], so he ordered them to take ahold of him, which they did. He was tortured; his wealth and treasure were extracted from him. He was punished horribly, so he composed these lines of poetry, which are:

*If time were to gaze at me in askance, let there be no tightening of the breast,  
If my time accuses me, I will not care, for I have already exerted in hardship and ease,  
Sixty years which have passed I have accompanied it, tasting both sweet and bitter,  
I have seen fate (al-dahr); there is nothing left—sometimes it shows you the face, sometimes the back,  
I see my fate thwart every freeborn (person), as if it has a grudge against the freeborn,  
When mountains of patience are ground down, you will see from me a firmly established heart,  
Since during the bad times I did not bow down, so in the good times I do not put on airs,  
So have patience, o tortured heart! The end of this matter will be victory.*



A chain was put around his neck, so when his secretary came to him and witnessed him in this state, weeping, `Alā' al-Dīn declaimed to himself:

*Do not show grief at what happened, for despite it all, there is good in it,  
It was a runaway slave, disobeying God, so he chained him.*

Among his love-poetry about a Turkish girl:

*Desert of the Bedouin is not for me, for my affections are hung on Turkish  
civilization,  
Brought to naught by the wide-eyed, so I am driven mad by the narrow-eyed  
gazer.*

He said longing for Baghdad:

*When will the beloved give me the privilege to visit you, as the eye slumbers  
and the heart is satisfied?  
Nights make me happy with closeness, and cause me to return closely after  
being distant,  
Come to me, O Ḥijāz caravan, as a companion, for I have love for the Twist-  
ed City (Baghdad),  
When the spring breeze blows upon me from it, I find relaxation as long as  
it blows.*

His Mongol beloved (*ma`shūqa*), with whom he was passionately in love, sent to him one day with a message from her, with one of [215] the Tatar girls, and the messenger girl was shapely, so he said:

*Like the morning, your messenger has arrived, so the cares of the night are  
removed, a situation that speaks for itself,  
And I knew that you, doubtless, are my visitor, the sun's messenger always,  
of a speaking morning.*

His death was confirmed, while he was in Persian Iraq, and his nephew the chief Sharaf al-Dīn Hārūn son of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Juwayni, governed Baghdad after him. His brother, the aforementioned Shams al-Dīn had the ministry and the rank, and had the rule during Abagha's time.

**In it** the judge Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Razīn, Chief Judge for the Shāfi'īs in the Egyptian homelands, died. He was among the senior leaders, and notable learned ones. His death was on 2 Rajab of it [October 17, 1281]. The judiciary after him was run by the judge Wajīh al-Dīn al-Bahnasī.

**In it** the righteous Shaykh Mūsā b. Mas'ūd and the judge Nafīs al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shukr, Chief Judge for the Mālikis, died at the beginning of Dhū al-Ḥijja [March 14, 1282].

And in it shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan `Alī b. Abī al-Khayr al-Sa`ūdī died in al-Qarāfa, at the al-Sa`ūdīya corner mosque, and was buried in it.

### Year 681: Mention of the victorious Islamic armies' raiding towards the eastlands and towards [Seljuq] Rūm

In it the Sultan dispatched an army in the direction of Mosul, to raid those lands, and to vandalize those corrupt people who they could in them. He appointed the emir Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Radādī, *amīr ḥibr* (in charge of axes), as commander over them, so they went until they reached the gates of Sinjār. They came across Mu`min Aghā, the mayor of al-Jazīra—who was, as we have mentioned, fleeing, him and two of his sons, after having assassinated Mengū Temūr, and playing a trick by killing him, so he was left a refugee—so the army detained him and his two sons, and brought them to the sultan's gates.

The Sultan imprisoned them for a short while, then released them, giving him an *iqṭā`* fief, and having his two sons serve the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy at some of his *iqṭā`* fiefs. [216]

The author states, may God have clemency upon him, this Mu`min Aghā used to come back and forth to me telling of what he knew concerning the news of the eastlands. He was the one who told me of the death of Mengū Temūr, and what happened to him. He was an expert on the affairs of the Tatars, and their descendants, and he lived for a while, then his death occurred in the Egyptian homelands during the months of the year 709/1309 during the Nāṣirī rule.

In it the raiders (*ghayyāra*)<sup>76</sup> proceeded from Aleppo to [Seljuq] Rūm, 600 horsemen, and they ran across a caravan departing from the city of Sīs towards Rūm, containing sugar, soap, cotton (*quṭn*), and pistachios, so they looted it. This reached the emirs who were in Rūm, as one whose was named Ibn Quṭnā rode from them leading 300 riders.

So the raiders met him, fought him, then killed a number of his troops, and wounded most of them. They fled before them, so they pursued him until they reached Arkalīyā. The deputy who was in it fled. A number of the soldiers of Fakhr al-Dīn Kunārī Ibn Qurmān,<sup>77</sup> accompanied by Shujā` al-Dīn Khūkhandī and Mubārīz al-Dīn were—and they are among the best of his soldiers—mustering a large number, and they proceeded to the mountains of Bulghar, which are above Mandas. They returned safely between the mountains of Sīs and the lands of the Rūm.

<sup>76</sup> For sake of comparison, this is where Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir's text begins. It is not possible to know how much Baybars took from the latter, but his account was probably influenced to some degree by it.

<sup>77</sup> Gūneri Beg, ruler of the Kahraman state.

**In it** a fellow arrived from the emir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, the ruler of Amasya,<sup>78</sup> father of Sinān al-Dīn al-Rūmī, to the Sultan. The one who arrived from him was a noble, a merchant, who would come back and forth to the sultanic gates importing mamluks and others. So he sent him asking permission for his son to proceed to him, and to procure the mamluks and others that the Sultan wanted.

Abagha had already given him and his wife permission during the embassy of Uryā Khātūn, wife of the Sultan Mas`ūd son of `Izz al-Dīn, just as we have mentioned. When the noble arrived with this message, the Sultan summoned Sinān al-Dīn al-Rūmī, and gave him permission to proceed to his father if he wanted by land or if he wanted by sea.

The death of his father in the land of Rūm was confirmed, and obstacles intervened between that which he desired. Then his mother sent out 13 mamluks, seven slave-girls, and a great deal of expensive fabrics after the death of his father to the gate of the Sultan as a ransom for her son.

They calculated the cost of his upkeep in the Egyptian homelands, until fate would overcome him.<sup>79</sup> When his mother's gift arrived, part of its sum total was Rukn al-Dīn al-Shujā`ī and `Izz al-Dīn Aydimur al-Shujā`ī. Both of them stayed in the sultanic realms until the end of the Manšūrī period and [217] the Ashrafī as well,<sup>80</sup> and came to be part of the Burjiyya [regiment], and were transferred to commands during the Nāširī period. The Sultan bestowed upon Sinān al-Dīn al-Rūmī the livelihood (*khubz*) of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Muqrī the chamberlain after his death.

**In it** an envoy from Alfonso (*al-fūnish*), one of the Frankish kings, whose name was the learned knight *major* Felipe the Spaniard (*al-isbaniyūlī*), and a companion of his, arrived. With the both of them were many honorary gifts of horses, mules and other things. The Sultan honored the both of them, and returned them enveloped in good treatment.

**In it** the emir Shams al-Dīn Qarāsunqur al-Manšūrī was confirmed as the deputy sultan in protected Aleppo, and he sent asking the Sultan for permission to reconstruct the citadel and the Friday mosque. At the time of the Tatars' entrance into the city they had destroyed the both of them, and burned their wood. So the Sultan gave him permission, and ordered him to be energetic about it as much as possible.

So he was energetic in rebuilding them, and returned them to a better state than what they had been previously, spending a great deal of wealth on the both of them. The emirs and local troops joined in the work, which was achieved in the quickest possible time. Its completion was in the year 682 [1283].

**In it** a fellow from the Oirats named Shaykh `Alī, who had entered into the religion of Islam, and had served the shaykhs, and he endured circumstances

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<sup>78</sup> In northern Turkey, close to the Black Sea.

<sup>79</sup> That he would die.

<sup>80</sup> I.e., to the death of al-Ashraf.

of spiritual exercise and deprivation, visited the sultan's gates as part of a delegation. The spiritual states of the poor (Sufis) were revealed to him, so some of the Mongol children began to follow him.

He departed with them from that land, and came to Syria, then to Egypt, and remained before the Sultan, who treated them with honor. They were al-Aqūsh, Timur, `Umar, his brother, Jūbān, and a number with them. He assigned them with the totality of his elite mamluks, giving them *iqṭā`* fiefs, horses, and gifts. They were transferred from commanding ten[mamluks] and marching bands, and advanced over veterans in receiving honors.

There were matters about Shaykh `Alī that came to light which were despicable, and strange movements, so he was sent to prison in the Citadel. Then al-Aqūsh was sent to prison as well. As for Timur and `Umar, they died while still in service.

### **Mention of the death of Abagha son of Hūlegū, king of the Tatars by poison**

**In it** Abagha died, and the cause of his death was that the chief, the minister Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Juwayni, the chief of the Chancellery, who had control over the revenues, and payments would be made to him [218] from the districts, feared assassination by Abagha, so he contrived to kill him in order to rule the realm through the one who would govern it, and to be the power behind the throne, and advise whoever would rule.

So he slipped poison to him, then he died. It is said that when his army was badly defeated at Ḥimṣ, and his armies fell apart, his situation began to deteriorate. Then it reached him that the treasury which belonged to him and his father, and the wealth and jewels which the both of them had taken from the Iraqi lands and hoarded up, which were placed in a tower in a citadel belonging to them which was called Talā, on an island in the midst of a lake, that this tower collapsed with all the wealth and treasure that was within it into the water.

Then he entered the bath, and when exiting, heard sounds of many ravens croaking, so he said to those around him: "I hear those ravens, who are saying: *Abagha has died!*" He rode, and the hunting dogs howled in his face, so he said: "This is ill-omened." His death intervened, his days came to a close, and he died at the beginning of Muḥarram of this year [April 11, 1282].<sup>81</sup>

It is said that he died in the middle of Dhū al-Ḥijja of the previous year [March 27, 1282] in one of the villages of Hamdhān whose name is Karmāmā-jāhān. He left behind the following children: Arghun and Kaykhatū, but they were in Khurāsān. His brother Ajāy died after him by two days, and his brother Tegūder seized power after him.

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<sup>81</sup> In actuality on April 1, 1282.

**Mention of the ascension to kingship of Tegüder son of Hülegü,  
who was nicknamed Aḥmad Sultan**

**In it** Tegüder son of Hülegü ruled, and that was when Abagha died his son Arghun, who was the eldest was in Khurāsān, and Gaykhatū was with him among the Horde. So the emirs gathered together, and made a *qūriltāy* (consultative gathering) to consider and to choose who would sit in Abagha's place.

Some of the Mongols wanted to choose Tegüder because he tried to get them to lean towards him, so they came to a consensus about him, and sat him on the throne of the sultanate. His brother Qongquratai was sent with a word to Arghun his nephew that:

One of the conditions of the *Yāsā* is that when the king dies, only the eldest should sit taking his place. This is your paternal uncle Aḥmad, who is the eldest, so we have caused him to be seated. Whoever disobeys his command will die.

So they obeyed him, then sent to bring the kings to demonstrate their affirmation of him. When he sat [on the throne] he manifested Islam, and broadcast it, writing a letter to Baghdad telling in it that he was one of the Muslims, and that he believed the monotheistic creed.

**Mention of the text of the letter that Aḥmad Sultan sent to Baghdad** when he sat on the sultanate proclaiming his Islam—he and those Tatars with him: [219]

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, we have sat upon the seat of dominion, while we are Muslims, so let the inhabitants of Baghdad receive this good news, and feel secure in their schools, their charitable endowments, and all of the different types of piety the same way as they felt during the days of the Abbāsīd caliphs. Every due must return back to its possessor with regard to the charitable endowments, mosques and schools, and should not depart from Islamic principles.

You, O Muslim inhabitants of Baghdad, we have heard from the Prophet, may the prayers and peace of God be upon him, that he said: “This Islamic band (*ʿiṣāba*) will continue being victorious until the Day of Resurrection.” We recognize this report (*khābar*) to be authentic, a correct Messenger, One Lord, singular, unique, unchanging (*ṣamad*), so let your hearts be gladdened, and write this to all the lands.

**In it** the envoys of the king Aḥmad Sultan arrived at the sultanīc gates, who were Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Shīrāzī, the judge of Sīwās, the emir Bahā' al-Dīn, *atābak* of Sultan [Ghiyāth al-Dīn] Mas'ūd [III], ruler of [Seljuq] Rūm,

and the emir Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ṣāhib, who was one of the ruler of Mārdīn's soldiers.

At the Sultan's receiving the report concerning their arrival in al-Bīra, he wrote to the deputies to guard them so that absolutely no one would see them or meet with them. So they took them in the night, and they were brought to the noble gate, then they brought a letter in their hands from Aḥmad Sultan, which was lacking in an address, but it had the red Mongol seals (*ṭamaghāt*) on it, and the first part of it was (written) using a pen for a scroll (*tūmār*):

*[Aḥmad Sultan's correspondence with Qalāwūn is omitted as it was previously translated in text 1 (a)]*

The envoys set out from the noble sultanic gates, were sent traveling to Syria and then arrived in Aleppo on 6 Shawwāl of that year [January 7, 1283], then proceeded to their lands.

**Mention of the death of Mengū Temūr son of Toqoqan (Ṭaghān)  
son of Bāṭū son of Joshi Khan son of Genghis Khan,  
king of the Tatars in the northlands**

**In it** reports of his death arrived, in a place known as Aqlūqiyya, and the reason for it was because of a boil on his throat, which he lanced, then he died from that. He left nine male sons behind, who were Alghā, whose mother was Jajak Khātūn, who had high status and influence because she was from the progeny [of Ghenghis Khan?], Barlak and Ṣarāy Bughā, Tughriljā, Malghān, Tadān, Ṭaqṭā, Qadān, and Qatghān.

Of brothers on his father's side, he had Töde Mengū, and Ukjā; Töde Mengū was the elder of these, and he was established in the dominion, exiling the children of his brother. The reign of Mengū Temūr was 16 years, and it is said that he died in Rab' al-Awwal year 679 [July 1280].

**Mention of the reign of Töde Mengū son of Toqoqan (Ṭaghān)  
son of Bāṭū son of Joshi Khan son of Genghis Khan in  
the northlands in the year 681 [1282]**

**In it** Töde Mengū sat on the seat of kingship in Ṣarāy after the death of his brother Mengū Temūr. It was said that he began to sit [on the throne] in the year 680 during the month of Jumādā al-Ākhira [October 1281]. The Sultan had already sent envoys to the house of Berke, who were Shams al-Dīn Sunqur al-Ghutamī and Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Khāṣṣ Turkī, and he sent with them 16 cloaks made from expensive fabric—among which there was some for Mengū Temūr, some for Ukjā his brother, some for Tanā Mengū, for Töle Buqa, and some for Nogai, as he had advanced among them, and began to be well-known among them.

Among the fabric was that which was for the wives, who were Jajak [228] Khātūn, Uljā Khātūn, Tūtlin Khātūn, Tadānūn Khātūn, Sulṭān Khātūn, Khaṭlū Khātūn, and for the emirs, who were the emir Māwū, the emir of the left-hand, the emir Ṭīrā, the emir of the right-hand, for Qalīq, Ukjā's wife, and for the Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kayqubād, son of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykhusrāw, ruler of [Seljuq] Rūm.

The gift was resplendent fabrics, sets of clothing, gifts, bows, cuirasses and young girl (slaves). When the two envoys arrived they found that Mengū Temūr had already died, and that Töde Mengū had sat [on the seat of] dominion, so they presented him with the gift. He received it, enjoyed it, and the envoys' letters arrived at the sultanic gates informing him of that.

**In it** the son of the noble Abū Numay,<sup>82</sup> the emir of Mecca, may God Most High ennoble it, arrived at the sultanic gates together with a great multitude of nobles, and leaders of al-Ḥijāz, together with horse, upon which were the marks of being led (*bi-rasm al-qawd*). The Sultan rode out to meet them, treated them well, and facilitated their needs in terms of their stay, treated them as family, was gracious to them, and sent kindness (*iftiqād*) to their neighbors in the Holy Enclosure, and to those nobles, learned ones, judges and members of Sufi establishments (*zawāyā*) in Mecca.

He also prepared the Egyptian caravan, which was accompanied by the emir Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭanbughā al-Khawārizmī, while the Syrian caravan was accompanied by al-Ṭawāshī Badr al-Dīn al-Ṣawābī. The emir 'Alā' al-Dīn Aydikīn *al-bunduqdār* al-Ṣāliḥī performed the pilgrimage this year.

### **Mention of the marriage between al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ and the daughter of the emir Sayf al-Dīn Nogai son of Bayān son of Qatḡhān**

**In it** the Sultan involved himself with the marriage of his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī, whose mother was the daughter of Sayf al-Dīn Karmūn, and had died in the protection of the Sultan. He had afterwards married her sister, who had previously been married to Sayf al-Dīn Kūndak during the reign of al-Malik al-Sa'īd, because she had been {widowed}<sup>83</sup> after his death, and had returned to the protection of the Sultan, just as she had before.

He married her, then she chose a daughter of Sayf al-Dīn Nogai for al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, who had two daughters. She tended towards them because of their ethnicity, and because they were all in the Egyptian homelands [229] at one time, just as we mentioned, during the Zāhirī days. Nogai was imprisoned in the border port of Alexandria, but the eye of felicity gazed upon him, so he was not aware, while he considered his fetters and counted off the black days,

<sup>82</sup> Probably Rumaytha, afterwards his successor.

<sup>83</sup> The editor notes the problems with the readings for this word; sense demands something like "widowed" or "left alone."



until when the post arrived to him from the Sultan with the order to release him, and present him at the gates.

He was presented, while his retinue was something he could not afford, and then tied the marriage knot for his daughter, and the marriage agreement was written, with the Sultan attending the marriage. He deputized the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭuruntāy, the deputy sultan, who was responsible for the wife of Sayf al-Dīn Sayf son of Aydimur, majordomo of *al-`āliyya*, and the dowry was fixed at 5000 dinars, of which 2000 was given up front.

The Sultan bestowed robes of honor upon the emirs, the notables, the scribes, and the ministers, nor did he require anyone to give a gift or anything. al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ entered his home in secret, and Sayf al-Dīn Nogai was given an emirship, which he lived on for a time, and then his other daughter was engaged to al-Malik al-Ashraf, which completed his ascent and increased his benefits.

### **Mention of the Sultan's marriage night with the daughter of Suktāy son of Qarājīn son of Janghān Nuyan during this year**

**In it** the Sultan married the daughter of Suktāy son of Qarājīn. This Suktāy came to the Egyptian homelands, him and his brother Qarmashī in the year 674 [1275–6], accompanied by Bījār al-Rūmī during the Zāhirī period. When it was during that time the Sultan requested his daughter, and she was conveyed to him, and brought in a wedding-procession. Her father had already died, so her uncle acted as her protector and prepared her. This was an hour in which infelicity was absent, and its stars and suns rose with felicity. He was blessed with a child from her, who was the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir, who revived the Maṣṣūrī house with glorious and proud deeds.

### **Mention of the renewal of the truce with the House of the Templars on the coast**

**In it** the truce between the Sultan and the commander William of Beaujeu, commander of the house of the Templars in Acre and the coast, and the Templars in Tortosa, was renewed for a period of ten complete years, the first of which [230] was 5 Muḥarram year 680 [April 26, 1281], which corresponds to 15 Nisan year 1539 of Alexander over the lands of our master the Sultan and what his realm contains. The truce was written, and in it the sultanic realms were enumerated.

### **Mention of the victory over the king of the Georgians and arresting him**

**In it** it reached the Sultan that one of the Georgian kings departed his lands in order to be present at noble Jerusalem as a pilgrim, and to return secretly. His name was Touta Souta son of Kaliari. A description was furnished of



him, an approximation of his age was 40 years, and the name of his land was *ḥafīdūd*.<sup>84</sup> He had a companion whose name was Ṭaybughā son of Ankwār, and the both of them had sailed on a boat from the coast of Poti (Būt).

The roads were watched from every direction for him, so he was never able to arrive at a location without a report having been sent previously to the Sultan. When he arrived in noble Jerusalem, he and his interpreter were arrested, brought to the Egyptian homelands, and imprisoned in it.

**In it** envoys from the Ismailis going to the ruler of Sīs presented themselves, and brought the sum upon which they had agreed to the sultanic coffers, which was 11,600 dirhams each year.

**In this year** the death of the judge Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr b. Khallikān al-Barmakī was confirmed. He was an exemplary person, a jurisprudent, a learned man, who headed the judiciary in Egypt and Syria, and he wrote a number of works, including *Deaths of Notables*.

**In it** Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Jawharī the merchant died, who was among the supporters and older close friends of the Sultan, and there was between the two of them a high level of trust.

### Year 682 [1283]

**In it** al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the ruler of Ḥamāh arrived in the Egyptian homelands in the sultanic formal session (*khidma*), [231] so the Sultan rode out to greet him, honored him exceedingly, and settled him in Views of the Ram (Manāzir al-Kabsh), and his retinue in lodgings belonging to him, and everyone who was present with him—his emirs, his courtiers, and his relatives. He brought with him significant honorary gifts of horses, fabrics, goods, valuables, so he received them from him, and compensated him in the best manner.

**In it** the Sultan proceeded in the direction of al-Buḥayra to dig the canal known as al-Ṭīriyya, and the ruler of Ḥamāh proceeded with him, and attended the work personally with his followers. He returned to this task, and clearing the canal was accomplished in ten days. Its length was 6500 *qaṣaba* (22.75 kms), and its breadth was three *qaṣabs*, while its depth was four *qaṣabs*.

God delivered benefits through it, and it irrigated many of the areas and eastern lands from al-Buḥayra. After being abandoned, it came to be numbered among the properties,<sup>85</sup> distinguished by its its advancement and produce rather than blight. Most of it was assigned to *iqṭā'* fiefs.

**In it** the Sultan ordered the deputy of the Aleppan realm to initiate raids into Sīs and its districts in revenge for the vandalism that Leon, its ruler, had carried out against the Ḥimṣan troop, in Aleppo, and the burning of its mosque.

<sup>84</sup> Unidentified; differing from the *ḥaṣdūd* in Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir (text 1 (a)).

<sup>85</sup> A pun in Arabic on the twin meanings of *ḍiyā'*.

He dispatched a group of the army of Egypt and Syria for that purpose, and so a large number set out, entered it with the sword, and targeted the city of Ayās. They killed a great many of its people, plundered it, and destroyed it, then spent the night close to it. They woke up determined to depart, but when they arrived at the pass [Cilician Gates?] their scouts who had been sent for reconnaissance returned, and informed them that they had seen a great mass advancing towards them.

When they came close to the Gate of Iskandarūna, they suddenly ran into the army of Sīs which had advanced looking for them, so the battle was joined, and the victorious army defeated them, took a number of their horses, driving them before them to Tell Ḥamdūn, and they managed to depart safely, returning with the help and aid of God, after having taken booty.

**In it** the Sultan dispatched an army to hem Kerak in, accompanied by the emir Badr al-Dīn Baktāsh al-Fakhrī, *amīr silāh*. This was because of the news that had reached him about the sons of al-Malik al-Zāhir—matters that were unbecoming, which was in spite of the good treatment with which he had treated them, sending their families to them, and all of their retinue.

They were Badr al-Dīn Salāmish brother of al-Malik al-Sa`īd, his mother, and sisters. He gave them their properties in Syria and Egypt, managed their deputies in them, levied their taxes, and multiplied it. When they were comfortable in the regions of Kerak they mandated [232] meddling in affairs that their minds dreamed up for them.

Those who were with them, such as `Alā' al-Dīn al-Ḥarrāni, the deputy of the sultanate of Kerak, presented themselves at the Sultan's gates, and told of the corrupt affairs in which they were involving themselves, mentioning this not merely once.

The Sultan wrote to them forbidding them from these matters, and warning them of the consequences of insubordination (*baghī*) [to the ruler] from which the heavens of security would be removed. But they only increased in involving themselves in error and approaching insubordinance.

So he dispatched this detachment to them, and enjoined them to hem them in so that perhaps they would return [to obedience], and ordered the emir Badr al-Dīn to remonstrate with them, as they might listen. So the army stayed in these regions for a time, while they did not mend their ways nor hasten to the correct way, so when nothing was gained from that, nor was there any positive answer, the army foraged the fields around them, and stayed in place until the Sultan himself proceeded to Syria, and what happened we will mention.

### **Mention of the Sultan's proceeding to Syria and his return**

**In it** the Sultan proceeded to protected Syria on 15 Jumādā al-Ulā [Jul 31, 1284], arriving in Gaza on 7 Jumādā al-Ākhira [August 21, 1284]. He stayed there for days, then traveled to Damascus, entering it on 8 Rajab [September 20, 1284], and looked into the interests of the situation, and

the administration of these districts. Then he took the reins returning to the Egyptian homelands, arriving there in the month of mighty Ramaḍān [November to December 1284], and ascended to the Citadel on the 25th of it [December 5, 1284].

**And in it** the truce of Acre was renewed. Its envoys had gone back and forth during the peace, then they presented themselves: two brothers from the house of the Templars, two from the Hospitallers, and two knights from the Kingdom. They were William, the lord of the states,<sup>86</sup> and Fahd the minister. The Sultan accepted them, and reaffirmed the truce with them according to the usual conditions for the period of ten years, ten months, ten days and ten hours, the first of which was for 5 Rabīʿ al-Awwal of this year [May 22, 1284].

### **Mention of al-Malik al-Ashraf's marriage to the daughter of the emir Sayf al-Dīn Nogai**

**In it** al-Malik al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl son of the Sultan concluded his marriage to the daughter of [233] the emir Sayf al-Dīn Nogai son of Bayān, so this completed the in-law relationship of the two kings in the conjunction of felicity, and the felicity of conjunction. The Sultan attended the wedding, and undertook the same sort of fun and good treatment that he undertook at the (marriage) entrance of his brother.

**In it** the Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān arrived from the Sultan Aḥmad accompanied by Ṣamadāghū. The two of them stayed in the citadel of Damascus until the Sultan proceeded there, and called him to what we will mention.

### **Mention of the conquest of Tūnis with the Sultan's insignia and his name**

This was when he returned from the raiding of Ḥimṣ he found envoys at his gates who had come from the emir Margham b. Ṣābir, the emir of the Bedouin in western Tripoli and its lands, ruling over its rare and valuable items. With them was a gift of Arabian horses, and there was a letter in their hands presenting to the Sultan the conquests in the Maghrib [Morocco], asking him to send his noble standard to him in order to conquer the lands under his blessing, and to gain power over them under his protection.

The Sultan answered his request, honoring his envoy, and prepared expensive robes of honor and beautiful fabrics, and informed him that if it were not for his preoccupation with the sacral fighting (*jihād*) against the Tatars he would have supplied him with an army that would have filled the four corners. He incited him about what he had resolved, and encouraged him to turn his attention to it.

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<sup>86</sup> *Bailli* of Acre.

When his envoys returned to him with these gifts and general good treatment, his resolve strengthened and his noncompliance hardened, so he arranged with one of the children of Abū Zakarīyā Yaḥyā, the ruler of Tūnis, who was known as al-Faḍl son of al-Makhlū` (the deposed [ruler]), and gathered a great number of the Bedouin, leading them in the direction of Tūnis.

When they arrived at it, al-Faḍl, son of its deposed ruler, put on the robe of the Sultan which was brought to him, unfurled his victorious standard before him, and the ruler of Tūnis, called Abū Ishāq,<sup>87</sup> was defeated, and his son Abū Fāris in Bijāya, so he proceeded towards him. Meanwhile al-Faḍl and Margham entered Tūnis in spite of this, and they ennobled it by unfurling the Sultan's flag, and mentioning his name [in the Friday sermon].

When Abū Ishāq proceeded to his son in Bijāya, he mustered the local troops, and departed leading those troops who were with him, and Margham went towards him with those with him. The two of them met [in battle], and the upshot was defeat for Abū Fāris—how much he was in need of those foot-soldiers and horsemen he had mustered—and he and his father were killed. Their heads were brought to Tūnis, and displayed up on one of its gates called the Lighthouse (*manāra*) Gate.

Thus the matter of al-Faḍl son of al-Makhlū` was completed in Tūnis and its districts, which was realized due to the felicity [234] of the Sultan being beyond what he had hoped, and he treated Margham b. Šābir well, speaking of him as Abū al-Wafā' (Father of Loyalty), and to Abū Marwān b. Makkī, shaykh of Fez, and spoke of him as Abū al-Faṭḥ (Father of Conquest), and wrote a proclamation for him in western Tripoli. He continued as its ruler (*ḥākim*) until he died. al-Faḍl arrested anyone who was an opponent among the Bedouin shaykhs, and treated them in a degrading manner.

**In it** envoys arrived from Töde Mengü, who sat on the seat of Berke's house's dominion, telling of his conversion to Islam, and proclaiming his being crowned king. They were among the Qifjāq (Qipchaq) jurists, one of them was named Majd al-Dīn Aṭā and the other was Nūr al-Dīn, and they brought a letter in their hands from him in the Mongol script, which was translated to Arabic.

Its content was to announce his conversion to the Islamic religion, his sitting upon the throne, and that he would uphold the laws of the religion and the customs (*nawāmīs*) of the Muslims. He enjoined upon the jurists who were arriving, and they should assist the righteous pilgrimage for those who come towards him. They mentioned in their tongues that he was requesting the Sultan to accord him a description which he could take a name

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<sup>87</sup> Robert Burns, *Muslims, Christians and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Societies in Symbiosis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 85 states that the son of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm, ruler of Tunis converted to Christianity, became known as Peter of Tunis, and was the godson of King Pedro III of Aragon.

appropriate to the Muslims, as well as caliphal and sultanic knowledge by which they could fight the enemies of the religion.

The Sultan prepared to send the aforementioned jurisprudents on pilgrimage to the noble Ḥijāz, and when they returned, he sent them on their way in the best state.

**In it** a nobleman (*biṭrik*) who was living in al-Ḥadath was arrested, who had great power, while many tyrants surrounded him. Many in error had joined themselves to him, with the people of those mountains, and had fortified themselves in al-Ḥadath. The Turkmens went to it, and used a trick against it, such that they gained power over him, bringing him as a prisoner, and betrayed him as weak, so the Muslims gained respite from his evil, and the hostility of his matter.

**In it** the ruler of Cyprus departed leading his host, going to the coastlands, so he sailed the ocean, so the wind cast him towards Beirut. He departed from it, and intended to raid upon those regions, but the Sultan, when the news of his presence reached him, forwarded what was happening to the deputies of these lands, to guard all of the locations against him. So when he had gained Beirut, the people of Jabal al-Kharūb concealed themselves against him, then attacked him suddenly, killing and taking prisoner 80 champions of his host, and a good deal of his wealth, horses, and mules.

So he sailed the seas, proceeding to Tyre, while he was properly frightened by the might of al-Manṣūr, and it was not long before he perished, and God was done with him. [235]

### **Mention of the arrival of Abū Bakbā, the king of Ceylon's, envoy**

**In it** an envoy from Abū Bakbā, the ruler of Ceylon, whose name was al-Hājj Abū `Uthmān, arrived at the sultanic gates. With him there was a companion, and they brought a letter on behalf of those who travel (passport). They said that this letter was in the handwriting of the king. Someone who could read it was sought, but not found. So they were asked as to its contents, then they said that its contents were that [it was a message] Ceylon—Egypt, Egypt—Ceylon.<sup>88</sup>

He had left the company of the ruler of Yemen one time because of love of the Sultan, and said:

I want an envoy from the Sultan to come to me in the company of my envoy, and for my envoy to stay in Aden. Jewels, rubies, and pearls are numerous with me, together with boats and fabrics from silk, are in my possession. I also have red dye, clove-bark (*qirafa*), and everything that the nobleman needs to import, including spears and their production. If our master the Sultan requested 20 boats from me, I would send them to

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<sup>88</sup> The phrasing is elliptic, but one assumes that it is designed to encourage back-and-forth trade between them.

him, and send the merchants of our master the Sultan to the land. An envoy from the ruler of Yemen came to me, but I rejected him, desiring the friendship of our master the Sultan. I have 27 castles, and all of their treasuries are filled with precious gems, rubies, and the [pearl-]diving places are mine. Everything that is brought up from them is mine.

The Sultan honored this envoy, wrote his answer, and sent him on his way, so he returned and described that he had taken a journey via Hormuz with a Ceylonese ship to Bandar Hurmuz and described the lands and stopping places he passed through during his travels.

### **Mention of the lands and stops that the envoy from Ceylon described to Baghdad**

He said that they traveled from Ceylon to Jāshik [Hāsik] island, to Asnās, from it to Kūrīstan, from it to Talwanah, from it to Qays, from it to Hazwā [Nazwa], from it al-Şabar, from it to al-Aal' [Alaya], from it to al-Andrawi, from it to the citadel of Aḥmadnagar, from it to the Citadel of the Blacks (*zanj*), from it to Naḥaylu, from it to Nāband, from it to Sarrāf, from it to Bardastān, from it to Bayram, from it to Abū Sihr, from it to Khūr al-sadaf, from it to Khārik island, from it to Ḥabāba, from it to Mihrwān, from it to the land of `Abadān, from it to al-Muḥarrarī [236], from it to al-Ubulla, from it to Başra, from it to al-Ḥīla, from it to Dayr al-dayr, from it to al-Maṭāra, from al-Maṭāra to al-Barriyya, from it to al-Jawāhir, from al-Jawāhir to Umm `Ubayda to Badan Mizziyya, from it to al-Fārūth, from it to the village of `Abdallāh, from it to Wāsiṭ, from it to Abū Mu`ayṭ, from it to al-Mubāraka, from it to Khayzarāna, from it to Sāyis, from it to Jabal, from it to al-Nu`māniyya, from it to the mouth of the pass, from it to al-Jadīda, from it to al-Kayl, from it to al-Madā`īn, and from it to Baghdad, and from Baghdad they traveled the main road to Syria, then to Egypt.

**In it** the two, al-Malik al-Şāliḥ and al-Malik al-Ashraf, sons of the Sultan, proceeded in the direction of al-`Abbāsa. al-Şāliḥ shot at a stork (*kuyya*) with a crossbow (*bunduq*), though it was claimed to the ruler of Ḥamāh, and he sent it to him accompanied by al-Rukn [al-Dīn] Baybars al-Fāriqānī.

This was because he was proficient with a cross-bow, and his vanguard was the Şāliḥiyya Najmiyya [regiment]. He rejoiced in that, and said, "How great are these gifts, when I am a youth, from one Şāliḥ to another!" The tidings were proclaimed in Ḥamāh for days, reaching a level of grandeur and magnificence in mutual congratulations, and the envoy who was transporting the bird received additional honor. Honorary gifts of gold-[plated?] bows, and embroidered cuirass-lacings (*jarāwāt*),<sup>89</sup> jewel-encrusted crossbows made from gold and silver, and a noble robe marked with emblems.

<sup>89</sup> Probably from the Farsi *garah* "lacings for cuirasses," see Nicolle, glossary, s.v.

**In it** the construction of the mausoleum which the Sultan had ordered to build for his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ's mother was completed under the supervision (*shadd*) of the emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Shujā`ī close to the Shrine of al-Sayyida Nafīsa. So the Sultan and his son descended to it, and both gave charity in it, arranged its charitable endowments, and other affairs.

The Sultan thought highly of various types of beneficence, and saw them as the most previous investments. Thus, he commanded for there to be a specific place appropriate for the building of a school, a mausoleum, and a hospital in the midst of protected Cairo. The only place he found was a court known as al-Quṭbiyya *bayn al-qaṣrayn* (between the two palaces). So the Sultan purchased it from his own wealth from the trustee of the Treasury, through the agency of the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn, his deputy, and compensated those who had been living there with the palace known as the Emerald Palace (*qaṣr al-zumurrud*).

He assigned the emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Shujā`ī as the supervisor over the construction, and the bringing of the materials from all directions. He demonstrated [237] close attention that cannot be imagined, and mustered the workers from Egypt and Syria. Nothing like it was heard about from previous days, and he initiated the construction, so the hospital was completed with its four entry halls (*awāwīn*), the cornices (*shādirwānāt*) of which it was comprised, its marble, flowing channels, and garden before the month of Ramaḍān began during that year. The work continued until it was completed and perfected according to what we will mention.

**Mention of a battle whose occurrence was confirmed between  
Aḥmad Sultan, sitting king of the Tatars, among the house of  
Hūlegū, and Arghun his nephew during this year**

**And in it** Arghun went from Khurāsān to fight his paternal uncle Tegüder who was named Aḥmad Sultan at his conversion to Islam, so Aḥmad dispatched an army to him accompanied by al-Nāq, his deputy. Arghun rode towards them himself, and took them by surprise because of their heedlessness, then killed a number of them.

The report reached Aḥmad, so he rode leading 40,000 and went to attack Arghun, his nephew. They met [in battle] close to Khurāsān, and Arghun was defeated. Aḥmad Sultan took him prisoner, and returned going to Tabrīz.

Arghun's wife, mother and a number of the ladies who had the right of audience to king Aḥmad presented themselves, asking for clemency for Arghun, for him to be set free, and to be confined to Khurāsān. He did not assent to any of what they asked. Aḥmad arrested twelve senior emirs from the Mongols, bound them, humiliated them, so the opinions of the emirs about him changed, and they resolved to kill him.



**Mention of the killing of Tegüder, named  
Aḥmad Sultan, son of Hülegü**

**In it** Sultan Aḥmad was killed, and this was because when he took Arghun his nephew prisoner, he delegated him to those who would guard him. The Mongols were mixed in their opinions about him [Aḥmad], because of circumstances that had brought their senior leaders to think negatively about him. Among these were his compelling them to convert to Islam, either willingly or unwillingly, among them were his treacherous attack (*wuthūb*) against his brother Qongquratai, and bringing him from [Seljuq] Rūm, then killing him.

So they conspired to kill him, and to set Arghun free from his imprisonment, then to place him [238] in his realm. Among the total number of emirs, there were three brothers, who were Bughā, Arūq and Qurmshī, children of Hindghūr. They proceeded to Jūshkeb, and complained to him of what they had endured from Aḥmad, and made him aware of the fact that they were resolved to kill him, and to place Arghun [on the throne].

Jūshkeb agreed with them, so they conspired together, coming to where Arghun under trustee guard. They set him free, and surprised al-Nāq, Aḥmad Sultan's deputy, then killed him, and attacked the Horde. Aḥmad became aware of them, so he rode a horse, fleeing defeated, but they caught up with him, killed him, and put Arghun [in his place], and made him king.

**Mention of Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw son of Rukn  
al-Dīn Qilij Arslān, ruler of [Seljuq] Rūm being killed**

**In it** the Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn, the ruler of [Seljuq] Rūm, was killed, and the reason for his killing was that Arghun was suspicious of him in that he had aided Sultan Aḥmad in killing his paternal uncle, Qongquratai son of Hülegü. Aḥmad would summon him to the [royal] encampment (*urdū*) while he was sitting in the sultanate— Qongquratai used to stay in the land of the [Seljuq] Rūm from the days of Abagha; him and Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn, while the emir `Azīz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Salmān, the brother of al-Barwānāh (*per-vane*) was before him, [239] and the lord Fakhr al-Dīn Khawājā `Alī. Those deputied on behalf of Sultan Aḥmad were Samghār, Tughrīl, and Bulraghwā in [Seljuq] Rūm together with three *tūmāns* [30,000].

When Qongquratai put off going to Aḥmad's Horde, he sent encouraging him, and summoning him in haste, not allowing him to be dilatory. Both he and the Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn proceeded. He [Qongquratai] had been married to his sister, daughter of the Sultan Rukn al-Dīn.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Rukn al-Dīn Qilij Arslān IV (1248–65).



When he arrived at the Horde, Aḥmad had him killed immediately, and removed Ghiyāth al-Dīn from the sultanate, commanding him to stay in Urzankān.<sup>91</sup> So he returned to it having been removed from power, and stayed there as a figure of ridicule. Aḥmad delegated the sultanate and the rule of [Seljuq] Rūm to the Sultan Mas`ūd son of the Sultan `Izz al-Dīn Kaykā`wūs, so he continues there until the present day, having no power other than the name, as the rule is entirely in the hands of the Tatars and their garrisons. When Arghun was enthroned in the sultanate, he sent to him, while he was in Urzankān, one who strangled him with a bowstring, so he died.

It was established that Baydū would rule over the region of Baghdad, while Awalāju over the region of Rūm. He left his two sons, who were Ghazan and Khudabandā staying in Khurāsān, and entrusted them to Nūrūz, making him *atābak* for the two of them, and guardian to teach the two of them. At the beginning of his career he was a guide in the Goldsmiths Market (*sūq al-ṣāgha*) there, then transferred to Iraq, worked in medicine and the philosophical sciences. He excelled so moved up until he was a candidate for the ministership.

Arghun treated Aḥmad's mother Qatū Khātūn well, and left her in the place she had inhabited during the time of her son's [rule], which was Ṭūmān and Mayāfāriqīn. He set things in order, and his rule was respected throughout the dominion.

In it the Lascarid, the ruler of Constantinople, died, whose name was Michael [VIII]. His son Andronicus [II] reigned after him, and was crowned, having the honorifics of Dukas, Angelos, and Palaeologus. The Sultan's envoys had proceeded to his father, Michael, with the copy of the oaths, so his aforementioned son swore to them.

The Sultan sent to him the emir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Muḥsinī al-Jazarī as an envoy with generous gifts. He sent Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Ḥalabī the elder and Muẓaffar al-Dīn Mūsā b. Nimrsh as envoys to Tidān Mengū, Nogai and Qaidū. With the two of them were the emir Qutghān and Shams al-Dīn b. Abī al-Shawārib.

This Michael who died did not originally have the realm of Constantinople, nor did his father, but the king there was another person.<sup>92</sup> But he was among the senior patricians (*baṭāriqa*), who had a castle, and would stay in it. The Franks' coming to besiege Constantinople occurred, then they took over it, [240] overpowering it. The aforementioned Michael gathered a number of the army of Constantinople, and said to them, "If I design a trick, and remove the Franks from it, then I will be king over you."

They assented to his condition, so he attacked it, leading a group of patricians and armies he had mustered together, besieged it, fighting the Franks in it for days. Then a section of the walls was abandoned, so he and his soldiers

<sup>91</sup> In north central Turkey, present Erzincan.

<sup>92</sup> Baldwin II of Courtenay, Latin Emperor of Constantinople.

ascended it, while the Franks were unaware—for the city is very broad—and he did not cause them worry until he fell upon them, putting them to the sword. A number of them were killed, and those who saved themselves fled to the boats.

Michael established himself in the city, sitting upon the Lascarid seat of kingship, and he took the one who would-be-king before him, who was a youth, put out his eyes, and then expelled him.<sup>93</sup>

**In it** the Sultan commanded the deputy in Aleppo to raid in the direction of the Armenian lands, so he sent a number, whose commander was the emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Shamsī to al-Tīnāt. They camped up against it, besieged it, had mangonels cast against it, destroying one of its towers and a curtain-wall from its walls.

Its inhabitants cried for safe-conduct, and requested someone who would conduct negotiations with them, so two from the Aleppan freeborn troops proceeded to them. They negotiated with them, so the matter was resolved on the condition that they raise 17,000 dirhams to be paid in (*bi-rasm*) horseshoes.

They paid 2000 of that immediately, and gave hostages for the rest of the sum. While they were in the midst of the parley, a road guard (*qarāghūl*) of Tatars who had been dispatched through the lands showed up, whose commander was Sayf al-Dīn Janghalī/Jankalī b. al-Bābā, to Mt. Līsūn looking for any opportunity (*tālib furṣa*), Then he sent a group of the road-guard, but the Islamic sentinels (*yazak*) attacked them face-to-face. They fought, so many of the Tatars were killed.

Six of them were taken prisoner, and the emir Shihāb al-Dīn Ḥaydar was martyred. Then the army returned from this raid, having destroyed al-Tīnī Castle, so that the Armenians would not be able to dwell in it after that.

### Mention of the Sultan's proceeding to protected Syria

**In it** the Sultan proceeded to protected Syria to administer its affairs and to inspect its interests. Reports had arrived of the Sultan Aḥmad being killed, Arghun's being established in the dominion after him, and that a company of the Tatars, approximately 4000 horsemen, were presenting themselves, defecting, seeking to come to Syria.

So he went to Damascus, entered it on 2 Jumādā al-Ākhira [August 28, 1283]. The people were happy with his coming, and he began to inspect every matter [241] of which there was an interest in looking into. Envoys of Aḥmad Sultan were presented [to him], as they had already arrived in Syria. They had been domiciled in the Damascus Citadel, where they were closely guarded, and it was not possible for anyone to meet with them.

Indeed, they were in the Abode of Satisfaction, while their young male servants and retinue were kept apart from them, while their board (*iqāmāt*) was

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<sup>93</sup> John IV Dukas Lascaris.

brought to them, and hospitality offered to them. The Sultan called them to himself; they were Shaykh `Abd al-Raḥmān and Ṣamadāghū—and they were not informed of the death of the one who had sent them [Aḥmad].

This `Abd al-Raḥmān was the exemplar for king Aḥmad and his adviser, and he was the one who advised him to convert to Islam as a trick and deceitfully in order secure his back, so that he would be free to fight his people, relatives, and his nephew. This shaykh governed the lands, and renewed all of the charitable endowments in Persia, Iraq and [Seljuq] Rūm. Moneys were levied to him in vast quantities.

He was able to perform charlatan's tricks (*makhārīq*) and ruses for the Mongols as well as other types of things that bedazzled them, and so they strongly tended towards him, and took him as an adviser. King Aḥmad and his entire clan began to wait upon him, and to have him as a spiritual guide. His origin was from Mosul, he was a slave (*mamlūk*) called `Abd al-Raḥmān the merchant. He imagined that he could accomplished with him [Aḥmad] what he had accomplished in Iraq when he presented himself to the Sultan, and what happened in those horizons would happen again.

But the matter turned out to be the opposite, because when he departed from the Horde, he was accompanied by a number of the senior Mongols, who were Ṣamadāghū and his number, scribes, jurists, and poor (Sufis). This shaykh would carry on his head an ornamental umbrella (*jeter*) on the way, while sword-bearers (*silahdāriyya*) followed him, with retinue, officials (*arbāb ashghāl*), and young male slaves (*ghilmān*).

Reports of him came to the Sultan from each stopping point, so when he arrived at al-Bīra, the emir Jamāl al-Dīn Aqush al-Fārisī, one of the Aleppan emirs, received him, forbidding him from carrying the ornamental umbrella (*jeter*) and weapons. He had him turn aside from the well-traveled road, and led them during the night. Dispatch riders accompanying him made sure that no one would speak to him or would he fill his eyes with anyone [= see anyone].

When he brought them to Aleppo, he concealed them, and took them out during the night, traveling with them without frills as would be usual. When they arrived in Damascus, they were brought in at night, given accommodation in the Citadel, according to the picture we have painted, until when the Sultan stayed in Damascus.

When he entered before him, he heard his words and the words of his companions, who were Ṣamadāghū and Shams al-Dīn b. al-Ṣāhib, and he received the gift of the aforementioned shaykh, taking the letter he was delivering on behalf of king Aḥmad. [242]

### **Text of the second letter arriving from Sultan Aḥmad**

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, by the power of God, Most High, as a response, the Khan, *firmān* (order of) Aḥmad, to the Sultan of Egypt.

Afterwards, the One who necessitates expending effort upon the intelligent, abandoning being dilatory, spending the most in acquiring a lasting legacy, which is the second lifetime, while delightful praise and generous reward are restricted to magnifying God's order, being moved to pity for God's creation, and the realization of justice and equanimity mandated for this end.

Which justice and equanimity are greater in measure, higher in mention among the localities and realms than saving souls if only barely from those things causing one to perish, and to put out the flame of thirsty livers, and wounded hearts? Whoever causes them to revive it, it is as if he has caused a resurrection.

Since we did not have, by the awesome grace of God and His massive goodness, impoverishment, nor [do we] wish [for something], nor does there remain in our consciousness any volition or desire other than the weal of this world and the tranquility of humans, especially the Islamic sect (*tā'ifa*), the people of the pure monotheistic (*ḥanīf*) belief, we have caused the ambassadors (*ilchiyya*) to be sent forth to our brothers Nogai Aghā, Töde Mengü and others, cautioning them that the barren dominion that our ancestor Genghis Khan and our noble fathers treasured up for us, after patience in the difficulty and arduousness of obtaining it, and shouldering the burdens of difficulties and struggle, merely by fighting and contesting, opposition to holding back, and difference of belief, now stands at the brink of the emaciation of its glory and splendor, and its water's pure splendor's turbidity.

Now it is time for us to exchange the wild animal[-like] struggle for the human[-like] setting things right, and in place of the intense dark night of mustering the troops and bickering [have] the first signs of morning, and the sheathing of sharp-cutting swords, having been previously drawn from their sheaths, erasing the traces of killing and slaughter.

We will turn from the battle-targets and hatred, so all will spend to uphold the obligation of assistance, as service to him, holding fast to the obligation of obeying him, and completely fulfilling what is connected to benefiting him, such that you should consider this with the eye of discernment, the opinion of one who the orbit of the cosmos has schooled him, and experience clarifies for them that this opinion is pure honey/advice (*shūr*), unblemished by deceit or oily hypocrisy. It is simply a warning that nothing other than the cream of good advice can deceive.

So they said: The one who falls into dissension is between the one of his fathers and forefathers who have passed on, with whom it is not

appropriate to be harsh, not causing falseness or rancor, so we have returned to (the beliefs) of our noble earliest fathers, which are agreement, amity, and keeping [243] covenants and according protections. So we have obligated ourselves to not break the link of this order, and God is the One who grants success to the rightly-guided, and is the Guide to right-action.

When the mind finishes setting this aright, and the steadiness of reconciliation has taken root between the two sides, we will send the ambassadors (*ilchiyya*), after pure intention towards God and His Messenger, in order to quiet the raging dissensions (*fitan*), put out this bright flame, in order to save the blood of the Muslims, to stop the dent in the religion.

The purity of his answer, and the cream of his speech at his standing upon that which was written to him, was as follows: If our father the Shaykh of Islam, Qudwat al-'Arifīn, Kamāl al-Dīn `Abd al-Raḥmān sends to me I would rely upon his trust, incline to his religiosity, and listen to what letters and face-to-face negotiation cannot convey from him, because of the benefits for me, and I would speak to him of the good counsel that the Muslims' conscience enfold.

This without being afraid that he will triumph over us by his staying away, or he would desert us by distance and separation. Perhaps if some of the pleasure of his company, and beauty of companionship that has arrived to him will benefit him, such that his seeking will be in accord with the common good, and to spread the symbols of Islam we would be satisfied to set off in his direction, in order to grant his proposition.

We have made this happen for taking a covenant and oath, in place of our good disposition and an oath, so that there would be no distance between our words and his, as he is the best in aid for matters of religion.

We have necessitated everyone near to us to support him to us, with whatever is trustworthy, in that he is a giver of (good) advice who does not speak aimlessly. It is possible that a small number (*shirdhama*) of ignorant people from both sides, those people of division and hypocrisy, whose belief is not in accord with common agreement, their natures will negate the truce and agreement, "who want to extinguish the light of God with their mouths, but God refuses (to do anything) except perfect His light,"<sup>94</sup> in order to disunite their community, and in order to realize their desires.

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<sup>94</sup> Q9:32.

Therefore, it is obligatory to not listen to their words, but to leave their deeds, because “their deeds have come to nothing,”<sup>95</sup> as it is known that every matter which can possibly be seen in a positive light in that it does not cease to be the stuff of back-and-forth gossip is not appropriate that it be seen in the opposite manner, especially in confronting adversity and serious matters.

“Praise (be) to God who guided us to this! We would not have been guided if God had not guided us.”<sup>96</sup> Written at the beginning of Rabī al-Awwal year 682 [May 31, 1283] in the standing-place of Tabriz. Praise be to God, Lord of Worlds, and prayers upon our lord Muḥammad, his family and Companions altogether.

The Sultan ordered a departure to the field, and to stay there, hunting, bestowing robes of honor, and benefices. This was his habit while he was staying in Syria. [244]

### **Mention of the conquest of Qaḫīnā fortress, and snatching it from the hand of the abandoned enemy**

This castle is a great border region and a strong fortress, which during the earlier time was considered as one of the castles of Amad. Then it passed into the hand of the [Seljuq] Rūm kings, then to the abandoned enemy [Mongols]. In it was their deputies’ [residence], and it was the base for their fighting.

It was never taken by siege, ever, and it caused a great deal of harm to Karkar, so when the Sultan ascertained the harm it caused to those border regions, he spent a great deal of thought as to how to squeeze it and weaken it.

Sometimes those deputies in it would treat people gently and well, but other times with airs and harshness. Therefore, when it was ascertained that this castle had no stores, men were dispatched from Karkar. They squeezed it and besieged it, keeping watch on it by turns.

Its people begged for the noble mercy, so assent was given to that, and they handed it over to the Sultan’s deputies. A number of men from al-Bīra, `Ayntāb and al-Rawāndān were stationed there, and it was provisioned with the stores, provisions, weapons, foods, and other implements that one would need. The honorary gifts were sent to its senior (emirs), so its guilt was taken away, and it became among the strongest fortresses of Islam, its beneficial treasures, and a mustering base for its fighting.

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<sup>95</sup> Frequently cited, e.g., Q9:17, 2:217.

<sup>96</sup> Q7:43.

**Mention of the conquest of the border fortress of al-Kakhtā  
and saving it from the unbelievers<sup>97</sup>**

This fortress is among the greatest, most deeply-planted, loftiest, and perfect of them, made of rock towering into the skies. An archer cannot reach it when he shoots from below it, as his arrow will only reach partway up the rock. It is protected on its other sides as well. It has a bastion (*bāshūra*) that is indescribable. It has a palace for the Sultan's deputy, who passes judgement from this border fortress. Around it there are fire-holes (*ādūr*) and fast-vessels (*tayyārat*), windows extending the height of the castle.

Inside are houses and dwellings, approximately 70 dwellings, and it is three levels: two vaulted levels and one roofed. Inside it are roomy and wide places for armory-factories (*zardkhānāt*). There are also vaulted granaries for stores; also an impressive cistern for water. There are six towers (*abrija*) to this castle, plus the bastion, and ten curtain walls (*badanāt*), the height of each curtain wall is 18 fathoms (108 ft/33 meters).

It is locked against everyone by a small gate high from the castle some 20 levels (*daraja*) in the rock. Then one descends to the larger castle. The height from under the castle to the end of it, named the New Castle, is 250 fathoms (1500 ft/457 meters). In it there are houses and dwellings, approximately 270 houses and dwellings.<sup>98</sup>

All of this is upon lofty high rock that seems to have no end, in a deep valley filled with water. From it an underground passage descends [245] to a vault made with towers and battlements (*sharārīf*) descending to the water.<sup>99</sup>

Because this castle is in this form with regard to fortification and strength, our master the Sultan made efforts to obtain it, with good promises to those in it, so that they conspired to kill al-Shujā` Mūsā, the deputy in it, and put in his place a man named Badr al-Dīn. At that time they sent three people to the sultan's deputy in protected Aleppo, in order to inform him of its layout, and to encourage him to hand over that castle.

He sent the emir Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ṣarawī, the emir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars *al-silāhdār*, the emir Shams al-Dīn Aqush al-Shamsī al-'Ayntābī to receive them, together with honorary gifts, robes of honor, the weapons magazine, and horses. Those in the castle swore oaths to the Sultan and to his son, so the fortress was handed over, and those in it went, group after group, to the noble gates, where the Sultan treated them well, bestowing *iqṭā`* fiefs upon those who deserved them.

It was equipped with armories, and implements, and was established in the Islamic realm, sticking in the gullet of the Armenian lands. A victory was obtained through this over the unbelievers, and the power to raid them day and night was gained.

<sup>97</sup> This selection is word-for-word from Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir (with occasional deletions).

<sup>98</sup> Skipping a sentence from Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir.

<sup>99</sup> Deleting a section from Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir listing the number of steps.



### **Mention of the narrative of the flood that happened in Damascus this year**

When the Sultan had obtained what he wanted in Syria, graciously bestowing inspection upon all the interests of Islam that were necessary, and had ordered the realms', regions' and fortresses' bases in the best order, secure from aggression on the part of the abandoned enemy, and the foaling time for horses had occurred, he resolved to go from Damascus to the Egyptian homelands.

He set his blessed departure for 11 Sha`bān [November 4, 1283], so the camels for the magazines and the large tents (*buyūtāt*) were brought out, and nothing remained other than to take out the magazines and the implements. The Sultan commanded that the loading place for the camels be distant from the gates, and that taking the magazines out would be delayed that day, trusting in God, who inspired him correctly.

When it was the night of Wednesday 10 Sha`bān [November 3, 1283] of the aforementioned year, a flood arrived, and it spread throughout the night, coming as if it were like mountains, while its waves ran high, and its pouring ran over, taking with it buildings, dwellings, khans, uprooting trees from their roots, and causing a great number of people, horses and camels to perish. It took an uncounted number of fabrics, provisions, [246] tents, and possessions.

It was as if it was a Flood (*tawfān*) sent upon that place in that the world had not seen the like of it previously. Everything that was connected to houses, magazines and stables was saved by the blessing (*baraka*) of the Sultan's sagacity and his felicity, and he proceeded from Damascus after the flood had dissipated and ceased. No one knew from which direction it came, but it reached its height on Tuesday 18 Ramaḍān [December 10, 1283].

### **Mention of the death of al-Malik al-Manṣūr, ruler of Ḥamāh**

**In it** al-Malik al-Manṣūr, ruler of Ḥamāh sickened, so his death took him into the mercy of God, so when it was 17 Shawwāl [January 8, 1284] the post arrived from al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taqī al-Dīn, his son, with his letter, and the letter of al-Malik al-Afḍal, his paternal uncle, telling of his death.

The Sultan wrote answering the two of them with condolences and consolation about this loss, for al-Malik al-Muẓaffar to act in the manner of his father, for him to be placed [on the throne], and to establish him on his foundation. He corresponded with him, just as he had corresponded with him [his father].

He wrote a reply to his paternal uncle, and to his soldiers, sending the emir Jamāl al-Dīn Aqush al-Mawṣilī the chamberlain, together with a quantity of honorary gifts specifically for the aforementioned, for his paternal uncle, for the son of his paternal uncle, and all of his emirs.

He summoned his deputy who was dwelling in the Egyptian homelands, who watched over his properties, his charitable endowments, and choice herds. Through this the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Ḥamawī Abū Khurṣ



presented himself to the Sultan, notifying him of his master's testament, and his handing his son over to the Sultan.

He wrote to the deputies in that region of the testament, and having matters continue on a satisfactory basis, just as they were during his lifetime, and renewed all of the appointment letters (*tawāqī'*) and royal commands. al-Ḥamawī returned to them with all that was pleasing to them.

**In it** the Egyptian caravan for the noble Ḥijāz was prepared, and its leader was the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Bāshqirdī.

**In it** shaykh `Abd al-Raḥmān, the envoy of king Aḥmad, died. His fate occurred close to that of the one who sent him [Aḥmad].

**In it** the mother of al-Malik al-Sa`īd died, who was the daughter of Ḥusām al-Dīn Berke Khān, commander of the Khawārizmians who we mentioned their arrival in the Egyptian homelands and the reports about them during the days of al-Şāliḥ Najm.<sup>100</sup> [247]

**The author says**, may God have clemency upon him, during this year the Sultan bestowed upon me the number of 15 horsemen (*tawāshī'*).<sup>101</sup> The felicity of his opinions surrounded him, in that he made me part of the total number of his emirs. This was his manner with the rest of his servants—to raise their ranks during his days.

### **Mention of the text of the noble proclamation speech written by the judge Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir in his handwriting**

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate

*Afterwards*, praise be to God who made known by the pen,<sup>102</sup> and made it a brother of the sword in the affairs of this world, lengthening by it the hard spear, placing this one to raise the flag (*'alam*) while this one is to bring knowledge (*'ilm*), prayers and peace upon our lord Muḥammad, who was set apart by different types of wisdom, prayers of God upon him and upon his family and companions, as long as the rain-openings continue to smile, mixing the locks of darkness with lights.

As the high sitting, glorious emir, great, chosen, fighting, unique, most glorious, satisfactory, most perfect, support of the religion, illustrious one of Islam, noble one of the [Sultan's] intimate circle, splendor of the community, plant-shoot of the dynasty (*dawla*), medium of the realm, choice of kings and sultans, Baybars, *al-dawādār* (secretary) al-Manşūrī, may God lengthen his elevation and eminence, is among those who privilege has assigned to its bosom, and favor has placed him over forbidding and commanding it.

<sup>100</sup> Ayyubid ruler from 1240–9. These were the Khawārizmians who had destroyed Jerusalem in 1244.

<sup>101</sup> See Northrup's discussion, p. 196.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Q96:4.

The realm has nourished him under its wing, and the sultanate has assigned him to bear the most illustrious and ostentatious type of weapons that it is possible to bear, favoring him with everything that calls forth attachment, and causes continuous gratitude and description.

He will be one of its attendants (*mu`aqqabāt*) who will have the power of command over those going before, as well as over others following him who are possessed of weaponry. He has renown that precedes him, and his influence is apparent. Prior service suggested his appointment, the greatness of sanctity has expanded for him the range of selection, while the necessities good judgement broadening it.

This is so that his crescent moon will grow, his good fortune will be heightened, his targeted goal will be near, so for that reason the high, masterly, sultanic order of al-Malik al-Manṣūr al-Sayfī<sup>103</sup> has gone forth, continuing to be generous and to select those loyalists (*awlīya'*) for ruling who are best, that his *iqṭā'* fiefs would be maintained in accord with how they are decreed, for his intimates, and for those good troops, known for service, total obedience, and complete preparation, that he will bring into his service, in accord with what is delineated, the number of his intimates, and 15 horsemen (*tawāshī*).

The date of this blessed proclamation was 14 Rabī' al-Awwal year 682 [June 12, 1283], so I received it well, and may God be thanked for its bounties, which have surpassed the hoped for limit. [248]

**In it** the shaykh Muḥammad al-Yamanī, the servant of Shaykh Sufyān—this Sufyān, his patronymic was Abū `Abdallāh—died, and he would accompany Shaykh Abū al-Ghayth b. Jumayl. The both of them were in Yemen, so Shaykh `Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī sent for them.

### Year 683 [1284]<sup>104</sup>

**In this year** the construction of the Manṣūrī school, hospital, cupola, mausoleum, and Qur'ān school (*maktab al-sabīl*)<sup>105</sup> were completed in protected Cairo *bayn al-qaṣrayn*, with all of its benefits, and everything that is connected to it. The emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Shujā'ī showed off the accomplishment of

<sup>103</sup> For Sayf al-Dīn wa-l-Dawla.

<sup>104</sup> Although it is not mentioned by any of the translated sources, Ibn Taymiyya delivered his first sermon in Damascus on 10 Ṣafar 683 [April 28, 1284] according to al-Yūnīnī, xix, p. 243.

<sup>105</sup> See Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt 1250–1517* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 80–3.

this massive construction, the like of which was never heard of during the recent past, of which the Pharaohs were incapable.

Among that which was said concerning this was a lengthy epic poem (*qaṣīda*) which was composed by Sharaf al-Dīn al-Būṣīrī the poet, so its choice part is the following lines, from the beginning:

*Staying near you protects from the vicissitudes of time, while an announcer  
calling you is your tidings to the hopeful.*

From it, after the praise:

[*Poetry in praise of the Maṣṣūrī complex.*] [249] [250]

**In it** the chief Burhān al-Dīn al-Sinjārī was removed from the ministry, and the chief Fakhr al-Dīn b. Luqmān was appointed to it. al-Burhān [al-Sinjārī] proceeded to the Ḥijāz, where there were words that happened between the emir of the caravan, emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Bāshqirdī, and the emir of Mecca, which led to the locking of Mecca's gates. No one could enter it, so when it was the day of *tarwīya*,<sup>106</sup> the army rushed from the Ḥajūn Gate,<sup>107</sup> burning the gate, mining the walls, and attacking the city.

The *sharīf* Abū Numay's bunch fled, and none but his children stayed with him, so the people entered Mecca. A peace was established between them at the hand of al-Burhān al-Sinjārī.

**In it** the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, the Sultan's deputy, engaged in digging the Well of al-Nakhl, from which the pilgrimage benefited.

**The author said:** During this year the Sultan bestowed upon me the command of a marching band with 50 horsemen, and gave me the *iqṭā'* fiefs of the emir `Izz al-Dīn Aybak *al-afram* al-Ṣāliḥī, *amīr jāndār* (guard), and transferred him to 100 horsemen, writing for me a proclamation of the aforementioned income (*khubz*). Its date was 5 Shawwāl of it [December 4, 1285].

### Mention of the blessed marching band proclamation

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Praise be to God, who gives generously, renewing blessings, raining continuous showers of generosity, heralded by the astral (*anwā'*) stars,<sup>108</sup> the One who raised Islam as a basis, giving all the friends (*awlīyā'*) of the dynasty what they desire—we praise Him [251] in a way that subsumes all

<sup>106</sup> 8 Dhū al-Ḥijja [= February 15, 1285], traditionally the day when Muslim pilgrims journey from Mecca to Mīnā.

<sup>107</sup> Towards the cemetery, mentioned by Ibn Battūta, i, pp. 206, 208.

<sup>108</sup> Stars that are used for guiding, whose appearance signals felicity.

forms of praise in word and meaning, and we bear witness that there is no god but God, alone, without any associate—a testimony that causes its sayer to occupy the highest place, and the most lofty position in honor—and we bear witness that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger, whose distance from his Lord is that of two bow-shots, or closer, prayers of God be upon him, his family and his Companions, continuous, repeating, unique and redoubled prayer.

*Afterwards*, we appoint the one who is singled out for blessings in their goodness, the one who receives a formal appointment from the precious agreements in their most adorned and valuable states, the one who we would have in the obedience of the noble dynasty (*dawla*), and nourished by its milk;

So, since he is numbered among its champions, one of its senior horsemen, and brave, he is the trusty tongue of the realm for secrets, and its friend who the sun of his devotion is not concealed by a veil, nor his full moon by being darkened, and because the high sitting of the emir, the glorious, high, unique, supportive, helper, strong, commander (*al-isfahsalār*), the raider, foundation of the dynasty, glory of Islam, pride of creation, aid of the fighters (*mujāhidīn*), tongue of the realm, strength of kings and sultans, Baybars *al-dawādār* for the Maṣṣūrī king, may God always render him powerful and raised;

Embroidery of this cloak, result of these proofs, horseman of this training-field (*miḍmār*). Because of his reliability in matters he can be trusted, and the fact that he can be turned to for counsel in war stances—the high, masterly, sultanic order of al-Malik al-Maṣṣūr al-Sayfī, may God raise and ennoble him, has gone out that his *iqṭā'* fiefs would be maintained in accord with how they are decreed, and the chancellery parts for his intimates, and those troops he has serving him, and this was for facing the Mongols year 682 [1283].

**In it** Ya`qūb al-Marīnī returned to al-Andalus [Spain] for the third time, spending a lengthy amount of time in its districts, and left a significant impression. Muḥammad b. al-Aḥmar feared for his life from him, and so sent to Alfonso [X] to conclude a truce with him, and request aid from him against him [al-Marīnī].

Alfonso forwarded his letters to Ya`qūb and informed him that he would not be rendering Ibn Aḥmar any help against him nor give him aid by sending anyone to him on his part. al-Marīnī and Alfonso sent envoys back and forth, corresponded, and came to an agreement.

Alfonso came to him in person, and the two of them met. He stayed with him for a number of days, and presented him with many gifts, horses, benefits,

and other things. al-Marīnī also presented him with a gift, and horses, and the two of them concluded an agreement against Ibn al-Aḥmar. Alfonso then returned to his seat (*kursī*).<sup>109</sup>

**In this year** the jurispudent, the knowledgeable, the example, the imam Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn al-Munayyar, the judge of Alexandria, died.

**And in it** [...] al-Dīn son of the shaykh `Adī b. al-Musāfir al-Kurdī escaped from imprisonment. He had been [252] imprisoned in a tower of the Citadel. The most determined search was made for him, and the lands received letters about him. A bounty of 100 dinars was set for him, together with a robe of honor, so he was arrested in one of the houses in al-Ḥusayniyya. He was imprisoned for a time, then released afterwards.

**In the middle of** Dhū al-Ḥijja of this year [March 1, 1285] the Sultan proceeded to Syria.

### **Year 684: Mention of the birth of Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad son of the Sultan in this blessed year**

**During it** God made a new male child for our master the Sultan, by whom to tighten the straps of his loins, and to build up the long-lasting supports of his fame, leaving Islam in the best possible hands in his Syria, Ḥijāz and Egypt, so he named him Muḥammad, and gave him the title of al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn in honor of his wife, the daughter of Suktāy son of Qarājīn son of Jayghān Navīn, who we mentioned his connection and marriage to previously. His felicitous birth was connected to the conquest of Marqab, as the proclamations were made and the armies and tribes were told the glad tidings. His ascendant foreordained him to felicity and his birth made his policy and rulership inevitable.

### **Mention of the conquest of Marqab fortress and overpowering it**

**During it** the Sultan went to Marqab and besieged it during the beginnings of the month of Rabī` al-Awwal [May 1285] of this year. We have already mentioned the fact that its inhabitants had broken the truce, causing dissension and the violations of sanctity to the deputies belonging to the emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī who besieged it. After that they had sought the renewal of the peace, and reestablishment of the truce.

Then it was said about them that they had not maintained their oaths, nor avoided their depredations and aggression. Thus, the Sultan did not see any other choice but to extirpate them, so he traveled to them leading his horse and foot, surrounded their fortress both on its rugged and flat sides.

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<sup>109</sup> Jofre de Loaisa (=Loaysa), *Cronica* (ed. Agustin Ubeito Arteta, Valencia: Anubar, 1971), p. 23.

He renewed the siege, and casting stones, and the armies began to tunnel, so its inhabitants sought safe-conduct when disasters began to pile up.

He answered them affirmatively and they departed [253] and handed over the fortress, so the Sultan accepted it and the victorious standards and the outspread flags rose above it. The Sultan sent its inhabitants to Tripoli. The Sultan had thought that the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar* would hasten to him when he heard of his proximity, and offer to serve him as was obligatory to him, but instead he dithered, and the feelings of al-Malik al-Manṣūr changed with regard to him.

Then he sent one of his sons, named Sayf al-Dīn Ṣumghār, to the camp to repair relations. When he approached, the Sultan was enraged against him, and prevented him from returning to his father. Instead, he ordered the latter to be forwarded to the Egyptian homelands, where the Sultan returned as well. He found within himself anger towards Sunqur *al-ashqar* because of the disloyalty he had demonstrated, and rudeness, which disturbed the purity to which he was accustomed, so he proceeded with what we will mention.

**During it** the Shaykh Ṣā'in al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, the shaykh of shaykhs of the Nāṣirī Hospice (*khānqāh*) in Cairo died during Dhū al-Hijja of it [February 1286].

### **Mention of the death of Ya`qūb b. Yūsuf al-Marīnī**

During it Ya`qūb b. Yūsuf al-Marīnī sickened while he was besieging the fortress of Algeciras on the edges of Andalus [Spain], and his death was confirmed during the month of Muḥarram [March 1285], while he was accompanied by his son Ijlīd. They transported him to Sale, and then buried him there. His sons were Yūsuf, Abū Sālim, `Alī, Muḥammad, Ijlīd and Mandīl.<sup>110</sup>

### **Mention of his son Abū Ya`qūb Yūsuf being enthroned in his place**

**During it** Abū Ya`qūb Yūsuf b. Ya`qūb al-Marīnī was enthroned in the place of his father, and that was that he had been staying in Fez, but then rode and went to Andalus by sea because of the army and the treasury of his father. His supporters and relatives greeted him, and swore allegiance to him, and Muḥammad b. al-Aḥmar<sup>111</sup> presented himself, in mourning for his father. Then he greeted him with honor, and returned to him most of the lands of which his father had taken possession—this was in total approximately 40 walled cities.

Abū Ya`qūb returned immediately to his lands, and treated his brothers and his relatives badly. He came down hard against them, and killed a

<sup>110</sup> See al-Qalqashandī, *Ma`āthir*, ii, pp. 129–31.

<sup>111</sup> Ruler of Granada, Muḥammad II *al-faqīh* (1273–1302).

number, including Muḥammad, Ijlīd his brother, and Mandīl his brother, and manifested harshness, ill-treatment and iron determination.

During this year, `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Bāshqirdī led the pilgrimage for the people. [254]

**Year 685 [1286] Mention of the return of Kerak from [the possession of] the sons of al-Malik al-Zāhir, their departure from it, and their presenting themselves at the sultanic gates, at the hand of the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy al-Manṣūrī, deputy sultan**

**During this year** the Sultan sent the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy to Kerak and dispatched a large army with him, having ordered him to besiege it. He camped up against it, and brought out siege implements from the Syrian lands and the Islamic fortresses, and initiated hemming it in, and cutting off provisions to it from all directions. He demonstrated seriousness of purpose and initiative, unsheathing sharp-cutting swords of resolution from their sheaths, and mixed the stick with the carrot, seeking to call some of its men and speaking to them with the tongue of good will.

He expended stipends freely upon them, and hunted down their loyalty by snares of sword-belts. For this reason, they turned towards him in a few short days, as news of his good-will, expenditure, grace, and merit spread. Most of the men stole away to him, and even the descendants of al-Zāhir's sons crowded around him.

When al-Malik al-Mas`ūd Jamāl al-Dīn Khiḍr and his brother Badr al-Dīn Salāmish saw that their supporters had given up on them, and left them all alone, together with cutting off provisions from them, and that they had lost control, they began to demonstrate obedience. They then both requested the seal of safe-conduct from the Sultan. Therefore, the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy guaranteed their good treatment, safe-conduct, and oaths, so the two of them said, "We have no need of his seal for us to depend upon him, so we will rely upon him."

Then he made haste to make for the noble sultanic gates accompanying the post with the news of his gaining the objective, and submission to the delegation, and that the matter continued to be dependent upon the arrival of one of the Sultan's retinue with the seal of safe-conduct.

**The author says** the Sultan deputized me to them, while with me was his noble safe-conduct, so I went via the post to Kerak, then met with the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn, so he informed the two of them of my presence, and I entered into their presence with the safe-conduct, and conveyed to them the Sultan's letter with his promises of good will.

They responded positively to this, and their breasts were opened,<sup>112</sup> their minds were tranquil, and their consciences trusting, so they descended from

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<sup>112</sup> Cf. Q94:1.



Kerak castle, to the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn, who met the both of them with pomp and ceremony, respect and honor, and gave them the tidings that expanded their hopes and removed their worry. They rode on the morning of that day to hunt, so he rode with them, and we hunted all that day, and then returned to the pavilion, and the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn assigned the emir `Izz al-Dīn [255] Aybak al-Manṣūrī al-Mawṣilī to be the deputy sultan in Kerak. He had been the deputy in al-Shawbak since it had been handed over to the Sultan, and he had been present with the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn since he had camped at Kerak, and had stood before him until it was handed over to him.

He assigned him to it, and assigned the emir Badr al-Dīn Baktūt al-`Alā` as the governor of the castle, and the emir `Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Najmī as the governor of the city. The Sultan had already appointed them, and the latter had bestowed upon them robes of honor, and upon the men of the castle, the commanders of the city, and the emirs of the Bedouin. He ordered their livelihoods (to be supplied), then returned to the Egyptian homelands, accompanied by the two sons of al-Malik al-Zāhir.

**The author says**, may God have clemency upon him, when they arrived close to the Hill Citadel the Sultan, the emirs, and the army rode out in a ceremonial procession to meet them. He approached the both of them, and conveyed them to the Citadel, and did not harm them in the least, but was loyal to his safe-conduct, and covered them with his good treatment.

He gave them both emirships with 100 horsemen, and they continued jousting with his own children in the square, riding with him in ceremonial processions. He domiciled them with his own children, and employed them in companionship and saddling, having conditioned upon the both of them that they follow behavior that was incumbent upon them, and put aside doubtful mannerisms.

They continued along that way for a time in the most luxurious lifestyle, and easy means; then matters of which he disapproved concerning them reached him, so he arrested them, imprisoned them, and they stayed in prison until the days of his son al-Ashraf, who sent them to Constantinople, where what we will mention happened to them.

**During it** the Sultan departed to Syria, and camped in Gaza, as he wanted to find out news of what the abandoned enemy [Mongols] had been doing recently. Then he sent a squadron to Kerak to hunt, and left the armies in Gaza, and informed me that he intended to train me in Kerak. I took with me the order and the baggage, and proceeded in his service as one being transferred.

We arrived at it on 10 Sha`bān of this year [October 1, 1286], and the Sultan camped outside of it, and ascended to its castle, looking out for its circumstances. He redug the pool that is at the Victory Gate, as it had been neglected and blocked up, and ordered the Bedouin's circumstances, and the men who were garrisoning it. He also renewed the proclamations of *iqṭā`* fiefs for the emirs of the Bedouin, fixed for them their manner of prayers, and ordered me to stay in it [Kerak] as a deputy.



Therefore, I stayed, while the emir `Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Mawṣilī departed, as the Sultan transferred him to the deputy sultanate, and the command of the armies in Gaza. He stayed there a short time, then he transferred him from it to the citadel of Safed as a deputy in the citadel, especially, in place of the emir Sayf al-Dīn Qajqār al-Manṣūrī, since he had become sick, and needed to return to the Egyptian homelands in order to receive treatment [256], so he proceeded there. This sickness was fatal, so he died in Cairo.

When the Sultan had stabilized the situation of Kerak in accord with what was necessary, and administered its affairs according to what was needed, he traveled from it, and proceeded to the thicket of Arsūf, on account of the fact that filthy conditions (disease?) had struck the army in Gaza, so he stayed camping in the thicket until the winter, and the snows fell, which made it safe from the enemy's going and comings,<sup>113</sup> and he returned to the Egyptian homelands.

**The author says** delegations came to me consecutively, so I expended effort on them, and the poets began to praise, while the people were joyful with the good treatment and justice, so among that which was said were the following lines that the judge Shams al-Dīn al-Irbilī composed:

*O one who during his days, the wolf and the sheep; neither one attacks the other,  
 You fulfilled it completely, when the people were confused in themselves,  
 frightened and terrified,  
 You cast awe among us, such that the god-fearing was afraid—not to speak  
 of the fear of those causing corruption,  
 Then appointed the one who continued to attack from among them, until we  
 thought you to be al-Rifā`ī or `Adī,  
 You used to bring water in the Sacred Enclosure, and attack early with fear  
 of you that was in the mosque,  
 You established the rule of God among His worshippers, hoping for the  
 reward of the devotee worshipper,  
 O one who unites grace and his justice, while his prayer and his keeping  
 familial ties are for the asking,  
 I continually fear disasters and avoid them, such that my hand clings to the  
 rope of loyalty to him,  
 The one who is guided in his matters by the light of your justice does not go  
 astray, or is led by the light of your opinion.*

The Sultan gifted me with 80 horsemen, and the *iqṭā`* fief of the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar *al-dawādār* al-Ṣāliḥī, as was usual, in al-Darbsittiyya, and sent to me the noble proclamation in the post, giving me extra good treatment.

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<sup>113</sup> That because of the season it was unlikely that the Mongols would attack.

### **Mention of the proclamation's text, may God increase its nobility**

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate,

Praise be to God, possessor of bountiful grace and benevolence, which is general in nature, and the beautiful one, which is perfect, we praise Him the praise of those who preceded [us], thanking Him for His unique benevolence. We testify that there is no god but God, alone, without any associate—a testimony which comes out of the heart of one who believes in the unity of God—and we testify that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger, in whom [257] God combined with his prophecy the totality of faith, and that [he], may the prayers of God be upon him and his family, descendants, and companions, repaired prayer upon which we rely and imitate.

*Afterwards:* His boundaries are the best named, his courage marked by felicity, his banners wave with the wind of victory, his localities are well-cultivated, he is mindful of his agreements to those who tend his plantations, who collect his clothing well, who through close accounts multiply his treasures and precious items through service, and abstain from overreaching the power of his instruments.

When it was the elevated sitting of the glorious emir, the unique, fighting, strong army commander (*ispahsalār*) Rukn al-Dīn, Fakhr al-Islām, sun of the creatures, pride of the senior emirs, strength of kings and sultans, Baybars *al-dawādār* al-Mālikī al-Manṣūrī, deputy sultan in protected Kerak—he is the lines of this forehead, the meaning of this certainty.

The noble good opinion has necessitated that the high, masterly, sultanic, kingly, Manṣūrī, Sayfī, may God increase it in greatness, effectiveness and execution, order go forth to be applied to his *iqṭā`* fief, in accordance with the *iqṭā`*'s that have been drawn up for him in the Syrian districts, for his private retinue, and for those with him, those reliable known troops he would employ in service, in perfect submission, and complete provision, after his relinquishing what was in his possession in the Egyptian homelands, and the number of his retinue, and 80 horsemen (*tawāshī*) coming from the property and endowment of the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar *al-dawādār* al-Ṣāliḥī as usual in al-Darbsittiyya. This is for the field produce for the year 685 [1286].

I began to stay in it as deputy during the month of Sha`bān year 685 [September to October 1286], and continued in it for approximately five years. When I arrived I found its situation had deteriorated, and its districts barely progressing, its lands fallow, and the attitudes perplexed after the hemming

in and sieges that had followed one after another upon it—in addition to the impotence of those who managed its affairs and administered it.

God helped set that aright, cultivate the lands, green the countryside, reassemble its order, and that year rains followed one another, and the plentiful clouds made good the lands, made the agriculture and the fields fruitful, the plantings and vegetables perfect, so it was a year of general good, and complete bounty. This was among God Most High's blessings upon His lands, His servants, and His assistance for one who seeks His good intent and management.

**During this year** the Sultan resolved to dispatch the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn as a deputy towards [258] Ṣahyūn, so he dispatched him leading armies. His departure from protected Cairo was on 11 Dhū al-Ḥijja of that year [January 28, 1287].

**During it** the Shaykh Abū Muḥammad `Abd al-Wāḥid b. `Alī b. Aḥmad al-Danīsarī died, who was a jurispudent, narrator of traditions, a learned man.

**And** the jurispudent Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Qaysarānī died on Monday [Wednesday] 27 Rabī` al-Awwal [May 23, 1286].

### **Year 686 [1287] Mention of Ṣahyūn's being handed over by Sunqur *al-ashqar* and his presenting himself**

We have mentioned that the Sultan dispatched the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy towards Ṣahyūn as his deputy. This was due to the circumstances that have been confirmed on the part of the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar*, among which were his sitting it out at the siege of Marqab fortress, his dilatoriness with regard to assisting in the sacral fighting (*jihād*), and that he would initiate raids with his horse and foot-soldiers against the lands around him, going beyond the agreements, and initiating dissension.

So the Sultan sent an army to him accompanied by the previously mentioned [Ṭurunṭāy], so he proceeded leading a mass of armies, together with the senior emirs who traveled with him. He camped up against Ṣahyūn, and sent to the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar*, proposing that he hand over the fortress, and proceed to the Egyptian homelands. He informed him (Sunqur) of the promises that the Sultan had promised him, the excessive [rewards] he had offered, and the complete unification [of the Mamluks] he intended (to accomplish) with his amity and ease of to-and-fro discussion, that would mix loyalty with its opposite.

But he did not comply or demonstrate a grasp of these circumstances, so at that time he [Ṭurunṭāy] began earnestly with the siege and increased its [Ṣahyūn's] being hemmed in, setting up mangonels to cast rocks, and tightened the siege. This showed a seriousness that he [Sunqur] had not seen previously in his life, nor had known [259] prior to that time.

When he saw this difficult situation with his own eyes, he realized that death was not far off, and was certain that when the fortress would be taken by force, if he were surprised, he would not receive a safe-conduct for himself, so he did not do that day what he neglected during the previous one. He sent requesting a safe-conduct, seeking confirmation through oaths.

Therefore, the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn answered positively to this, and swore to him in accord with what he intended, giving a guarantee from the Sultan that he would treat him well, and accord him bountiful good-treatment. Nor would he harm him in himself or his body, his family, his children, his attendants, servants, followers and protective guard. When he was confident of the confirming promises and tranquil about all these promises he descended from Ṣahyūn. Spies confirmed his descent, and his giving up what he had never given up previously, so he handed it over to the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy al-Manṣūrī in the month of Rabī' al-Awwal year 686 [April 1287].

He then assigned a deputy, governor and men to it, treating its men generously, looking after their circumstances, and then departing from it, while the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar* accompanied him. He was assigned (good) places to stay, and noble gifts were given to him copiously. When they arrived close to the protected Citadel, the Sultan and his two sons, al-Ṣāliḥ and al-Ashraf, rode out, with the two sons of al-Malik al-Zāhir before him, in a ceremonial procession in which the armies surrounded him, together with the senior emirs, the Ṣāliḥiyya, the Najmiyya [regiments], and the other close retinue.

The Sultan met the emir Shams al-Dīn previously mentioned with joy, reception, openness, and celebration, so they hugged, stood chest-to-chest (*takārashā*),<sup>114</sup> and praised each other as lovers greet each other after they have been separated.

Then he conveyed him up to the Citadel with him, domiciled him in it, and made available to him the pure watering places for guests. He cloaked him in the magnificent robes, and splendid fabrics, with expensive gold-ornamented belts, and (other) types of valuable gifts. He bestowed upon him the command of 100 horsemen (*fāris*), and had pastured horses with a mounted troop and bejeweled saddles led to him, with other things that filled his eyes and hands, which would be good for sitting while in civilization, and a comfort while traveling, a companion while staying, and an advisor for important matters.

He remained like that for the rest of the Sultan's days, dressed in the clothing of good treatment, such that they caused him to forget his previous life, and made him turn his attention towards horsemen and property. This was until the martyr Sultan passed into the presence of his Lord and His mercy, and the dominion arrived at his son al-Malik al-Ashraf, according to his desire, there what we will mention befell the emir Shams al-Dīn, if God wills. [260]

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<sup>114</sup> Probably from the Turkish *g-r-s*, Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 663–4.

**Mention of the abdication of Töde Mengü son of Toqoqan  
(Ṭaghān) son of Bāṭū son of Joshi Khan son of Genghis  
Khan from the kingdom in the northlands**

**In it** Töde Mengü became depressed and abandoned the involvement in the kingdom's affairs, cutting himself off from the elders, the poor (Sufis), and the oversight of the worshippers and righteous. He sufficed with a small amount in place of much. Then it was said to him, "The kingdom needs to have a king to govern it," so he indicated that he would abdicate in favor of his nephew Töle Buqa. His spirits rose at that, so his wives, brothers, paternal uncles, relatives, and dependents all agreed with it. The length of his rule was approximately five years. Among his children were Mankī, Ṣarātimur and Saktāy.

**Mention of Töle Buqa son of Mengü Temür<sup>115</sup> son of  
Toqoqan (Ṭaghān) son of Joshi Khan son of Genghis Khan  
becoming king in the northlands, on the seat of Berke,  
and his going to the land of Keral, raiding it**

**In it** Töle Buqa became king in place of his paternal uncle Töde Mengü, and prepared, went leading his armies to the lands of Keral for a raid upon it, and raided those in it. He sent to Nogai ordering him to come leading those armies with him to jointly raid against the lands of the Keral.

Therefore, Nogai came leading the *tūmāns* (10,000s) which were with him, and the two came together with this intention. They initiated the raid, plundering what they would, killing whom they could, and returned, but the winter had taken hold, the snows multiplied, and the roads became extremely difficult. Thus, Nogai became separated from him leading those with him, and came to his wintering place, arriving safely, him and all who he led.

Töle Buqa began to stray close to death because of the bad road, and the harshness of the waterless terrain, so he went astray from the main road, and the worst type of hardship and deprivation overtook them, and most them died from the intense cold and lack of food; only a few were saved.

Töle Buqa took this hard, and imagined that Nogai had only done this to them as a plot and a stratagem in order to cause his armies to perish, and to destroy his clans. For this reason, he held treachery inside against the latter and harbored evil against him. This was because of the terrible hardship that had happened to him and his army that had compelled them to eat the flesh of their mounts, which they rode, and their dogs, who were their companions, in addition to the flesh of those among them who had died of hunger. [261] Then he conspired with his supporters to attack Nogai in accord with what we will mention in its appropriate place.

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<sup>115</sup> The editor notes that Mengü Temür was Töle Buqa's brother.

### Mention of the Nubian raid at this point

**In it** the Sultan prepared an expedition of emirs, troops, Bedouin of the lands, and road-guards (*qarāghulāmiyya*) of the provinces, and those similar to them from all directions. They were accompanied by the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Masrūrī, the governor of protected Cairo, known as “the tailor,” and the emir `Izz al-Dīn Aydimur al-Sayfī, majordomo (*ustādh dār*) of Aytimish al-Sa`dī, governor of the districts of Qūs, to raid the Nubians.

They proceeded, and arrived at Dongola, and raided it, its districts, took captives, pillaged, and took booty, in addition to bringing a large number of slaves.

**In it** a cold-snap occurred in the western lands of the Egyptian homelands at harvest-time, so it struck many of the standing crops in their tilled lands (*mawāris*), and the harvested crops in their threshing floors, and winnowing-places.

**In it** the emir Badr al-Dīn Bīlīk al-Aydimurī died on 4 Muḥarram of it [February 19, 1287], and was buried in his mausoleum in al-Qarāfa, close to Imam al-Shāfi`ī's [mausoleum], may God have mercy upon him, memorial, and the Sultan grieved greatly because of him.

**In it** the righteous tradition-narrator al-Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Qaṣṭāllānī, the shaykh of the Tradition School in Cairo, died.

**In it** the chief Burhān al-Dīn al-Khiḍr b. al-Ḥasan al-Sinjārī died; we have already mentioned his appointment to the ministry at the beginning of the Maṣṣūrī rule, and his removal from it.

**In it** the Imam, the pious, ascetic, generous, master of spiritual exercises and struggles, the Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Shaykh Sadīd al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, the imam of the Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn rank at the Sa`īd al-Su`adā' Hospice in Cairo, died. [262]

### Year 687 [1288] Mention of the battle that was between Qubilai Khan and Qaidu

**During this year** there occurred a war between Qubilai Khan, the chief of the throne,<sup>116</sup> and Qaidu son of Qashi (Qujī) son of Ogedei son of Genghis Khan, one of the Tatar kings. Its reason was that one of the emirs of Qubilai called Ṭaradghā felt that Qubilai had betrayed him, and resolved to punish him.

Therefore, he fled and joined Qaidu, persuaded him to attack Qubilai, and wage war against him, making him desire to take his kingdom. He said to him

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<sup>116</sup> Senior Khan. See Michal Biran, *Qaidu and the Rise of the Independent Mongol State in Central Asia* (London: Curzon, 1997), pp. 45–7 on these battles.

that he was elderly, and could no longer effectively administer his dominion, that his sons were the true managers of the affairs, but they were boys.

Qaidu led his armies to attack him, and Ṭaradghā went accompanying him. This reached Qubilai, so he prepared his armies, and sent them in the company of his son Numghān to wage war. When Qaidu arrive close to the group, he learned that they were a very large group, a massive number, so he wanted to hastily return back. However, Ṭaradghā said, “Let the king give me a *tūmān* (10,000) of the army’s elite, and I will prepare a stratagem and defeat them.”

However, Qaidu said, “How will you do that?” He said “The way which is before us, there a narrow valley between two mountains, so I will place the *tūmān* there, and conceal them. The king [Qaidu] should advance towards the group until when eye meets eye, he should retreat backwards so that they will have no choice but to pursue him. When they pursue him, this will deceive them so that they will follow until they are between that valley and him. Then I will emerge, and surround the army.”

Qaidu did just this, and the concealed [detachment] were concealed with Ṭaradghā Navīn, and went until the two armies were opposite one another. Eyes fell upon eyes, so Qubilai’s army wanted very much [to fight] them because of their smaller number, and attacked them. They [Qaidu’s] gave way at their attack, feigning a retreat before them backwards, and they pursued them, seeking after them until when they had passed by the place of concealed [detachment], all of a sudden Ṭaradghā Navīn emerged, leading the elite of the *tūmāns* who were with him.

Then Qaidu turned against them leading those with him, so they crushed the army of Qubilai completely, and slaughtered, killing a great number of them. Then they went on their tracks until they were overlooking their homes, plundering a massive number of women and children. A number of mamluks were taken from these captives and brought to the Egyptian homelands.<sup>117</sup>

Numaghān son of Qubilai was saved among a small number of his soldiers, but when he arrived at his father Qubilai. The latter, however, despised him, so he sent him to the land of China, where he died.

**In it** the Sultan removed the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Shujā`ī al-Manṣūrī from [263] the ministership, dispossessed him, and took his wealth. Most of his anger against him was because he had committed abuses in the Complaints Court, thereby bringing curses down from all the world upon his regime.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Note that this influx of slaves was almost certainly Baybars’ source for this battle.

<sup>118</sup> According to al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xxxi, p. 101 al-Shujā`ī was also accused of selling weapons to the Franks (see Ibn al-Furāt for a slightly different account).



In his private prison there was a large group, numbering in the hundreds. Months and years had passed [for the prisoners] which were nothing but a source of income for envoys, and a source of bribes for commanders.

He ordered Bahā' al-Dīn Baghdī *al-dawādār* to go out to these people's places who had their possessions confiscated, and to look into their issues to verify them. He departed in the night to the House (Mint) of copper pennies (*fiḥs*), which is the confluence of the bureaus, whereupon he found there a number. They rose up to him, screaming, so he informed the Sultan of their matter, so he ordered the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭuruntāy to inspect them, and to liberate those who it was necessary to liberate. He then inspected them, and set most of them at liberty. He concentrated on their recompense, just as al-Shujā'ī had concentrated on their fault, and found the evil ending for their injustice.

This was vengeance that came upon him for their prayers, and how right the one who said was:

*Prayer is mocked and made fun of, but what would make you know what prayer does?*

*Arrows of the night do not miss, but they have an end, and the end has finality.*

### **Mention of Badr al-Dīn Baydarā's appointment to the ministership**

**In it** the Sultan appointed the emir Badr al-Dīn Baydarā al-Manṣūrī to the ministership. He was first a minister of the council, then became majordomo, then he transferred him to the ministership in place of the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Shujā'ī.

He improved its conduct, and treated the people with kindness. During his time in office, the summonses before a judge were cut back, and the confiscations were minimized. Injustice of the unjust was uncovered, and the bureaus were filled with the sweetness of peace rather than the bitterness of fear. He continued in it until the end of al-Manṣūr's reign; with the coming of al-Ashraf, he was transferred to the deputy sultanate, and what happened to him there we will mention.

### **Mention of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ's, the Sultan's son, death**

**In it** sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, son of our master the Sultan, sickened, and he was sick [264] with liver dysentery, which is one of the killing, murderous diseases. He began to continuously vomit blood, until he was at death's door, and the malady had strengthened, while the cure was beyond the doctors' skill, so God sealed his fate this year, then he was collected to the mercy of God Most High.



His father grieved especially, together with the emirs and the people in general, because he was beloved by all the hearts because of his good qualities that were free from any faults, a noble in his kingly ethics, suckling successively in youth and childhood, and a *çavuk* (famous)<sup>119</sup> in his appearance and horsemanship. He left behind one male child, who was the emir Muẓaffar al-Dīn Amīr Mūsā.

God made him favorable to people, and realized hopes in him, so he grew up similar to his father, advancing in his jousting. When the regime passed to his paternal uncle, the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir, he became part of the elite, having been made emir over 100 horsemen.

*He inherited felicity from his father and grandfather, grasping leadership  
from one generation to the next,  
Therefore, God protects him, and raises his dignity in the shadow of our  
master al-Malik al-Nāṣir.*

Shortly after the death of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ his half-sister, who was the Lady Ghāziyya Khātūn, married to al-Malik al-Sa`īd, died as well.

**In it** the Sultan married the daughter of the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur al-Tikrītī al-Zāhirī, and liberated him from imprisonment, and gave him an emirship in Syria, then it departed from him.

**In this year** the shaykh Ibrāhīm b. Mi`ḍād b. Shaddād b. Ḥāmid al-Qushayrī died, who was a learned man, cultured, who had poetry, among which was:

*I consider desire, torment, excessive love-sickness, burning from romantic  
love to soar higher than a falcon,  
But I do not know whom I love, nor have my two eyes gazed upon my love in  
either desert or civilization,  
So have you seen all the people marveling at my situation, but never seen  
the source at all,  
I am emaciated in desire towards one I do not know, nor has my imagination  
stolen a glance of him during my whole life.*

**In it** Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Shāwar b. al-Naqīb the poet died. We have mentioned some of his poetry. He was dignified in it, and he had poems and fragments, among which: [265]

*He lived in love with you, dying in love, so God filled him with loyalty and  
earth,  
As long as it is fulfilled, or the dues of your romantic love are fulfilled, desire  
is permitted body and heart,*

<sup>119</sup> Editor notes this is Turkish, see Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, p. 396.

*By God, undertaken by the one who made passionate love obligatory towards another, even if it is difficult,  
 Death in desire is satisfaction and remonstrance, while the Condemner is not satisfied with it for him,  
 In that way, in that way, but if not then not for consumption by owl, east wind or lover,  
 O lovers, this is love's description, and the same for one named lover,  
 If your love be true, you will not speak of it, nor think desire is romantic love or play,  
 One who witnesses before his eyes fighting is not like one who encounters piercing and striking,  
 Woe is a youth who love leads him to death, so he is driven, while not wasting any time.*

He was quite playful, and once was dispatched to one of the hackneys (*bayākīr*),<sup>120</sup> so he said:

*I was dispatched in spite of my poverty and age that have rendered me naked, so my life is fleeing away like my sleep,  
 None other than me would claim my place, so I it is who is the dispatched poor shaykh!*

**The shaykh** Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Shaykh Sadīd al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, the imam of the Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn rank at the Sa'īd al-Su'adā' Hospice in Cairo, died.<sup>121</sup>

**And** Shaykh Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Umar al-Mursī, of the followers of al-Shādhilī,<sup>122</sup> died.

**And** the righteous shaykh 'Uthmān b. Khidr b. Sa'd al-Kurdī al-Azkashī al-'Adawī [died]. One of his students told about him that on the day during which al-Malik al-Zāhir met the Tatars [in battle] at al-Iblastayn the shaykh had a bit of shut-eye because of sleepiness, then woke from his sleep, saying "I was this very hour in [Seljuq] Rūm, and saw al-Malik al-Zāhir as he was victorious over the Tatars! He placed his [tent's] royal tent at Caesarea!"<sup>123</sup> He marked the time and the hour, and the matter was as he had told it, may the mercy of God be upon him.

**The emir** Sayf al-Dīn Balabān Kājīkī, known as *al-shiḥna* (police chief) led the pilgrimage caravan from Egypt during this year. The emir Abū Numay b. Abū Sa'd al-Ḥusaynī, ruler of Mecca, rose up against him [266], arresting

<sup>120</sup> Marked as a Turkish Egyptian word.

<sup>121</sup> The editor notes that this is repeated from earlier.

<sup>122</sup> The eponym of the Sufi brotherhood.

<sup>123</sup> Today Keyseri.

him in conspiracy with the pilgrims, then transported him to the Sultan, who sent him to Kerak, where he was imprisoned for a time, then liberated afterwards.

### **Year 688 [1289] Mention of the Sultan's going to protected Syria**

In it the Sultan ordered the armies to prepare and resolved to make a show of force, departed from the Citadel during the month of Muḥarram [February 1289], and went to Syria, determined to raid Tripoli and take it. This was because its people had violated the bases of the peace, and had mixed up the truce's ways by the corruption, ill-intention, waylaying on the roads, and harassment of the Muslims they can carried out during most of the times.

Therefore, he determined to besiege them and resolved to destroy them, and wrote to the deputies in the Syrian realms, and coastal fortresses to prepare the armies for it, send mangonels and war-implements for the siege against it, and to encourage the fighters (*mujāhidīn*) and those desirous of aiding the religion for that purpose.

### **Mention of the conquest of Syrian Tripoli from the hands of the Franks through the sword of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Islām on Tuesday 4 Rabī' al-Ākhira of this year [April 27, 1289]**

The Sultan proceeded to it, and camped up against it, and the reinforcements came from all the lands, mutually supporting the helpers, and the siege was renewed, and half-measures and restraint were abandoned.

**The author said**, may God pardon him, I did not participate in this raid, but one who was intimately involved informed, told me what happened to those who were present during it. Its inhabitants manifested stubbornness, and resisted for a period, but then the defense was no longer possible, as being hemmed in had tightened around them, as war worse than the torment of fire closed in around them.

Violent death was continuously raining down upon them from flights of arrows, the rocks of the mangonels, and tunneling of the miners mining tunnels and channels being dug towards their walls. Its inhabitants and their morale weakened, while their bravery and heroism was worn out, so the armies gained control of their walls and towers, and entered from the rest of its narrow streets on 4 Rabī' al-Ākhir [April 27, 1289], and the victorious standards rose on its embattlements.

Swords murdered its people, cutting and shedding their lifeblood [267] and draining it away. Prisoners were taken, and the armies' booty, which took the fabrics, the women, the children, the daughters and young men. Some of them retreated to an island close to the port, at which it was not possible to arrive without skiffs (*qawārib*) and small boats. They took refuge on it,

thinking that they were protected on it. They took their fabrics and furniture, but the Sultan's felicity overflowed to the extent that the sea retreated from them, so places where it could be forded were exposed for the armies, then they hastened to it, both horseman and foot-soldier.

They fell upon those who were on it [the island], both horseman and foot soldiers. Some on it sailed a boat in the sea to save themselves, but the wind blew it back in the direction of the coast, and there was no way for them to escape in the short-term. The Islamic horse was there together with the Dashāriyya, so the young men (*ghilmān*), the Shākirdiyya,<sup>124</sup> the Wushā-qiyya,<sup>125</sup> and the Amīr-akhūriyya (shield-bearers) [regiments] went out to them, and fell upon them, robbing them, and taking those they found there prisoner. This was a terrible setback for them on shore when the sea was close by.

Victory was given specifically to al-Manṣūr (= the One made Victorious) secretly and openly—the only one who achieved martyrdom in this raid was the emir `Izz al-Dīn Muḡhān, *amīr shikār* (master of the hunt),<sup>126</sup> as he gained felicity, and attained the rank of martyr, the emir Rukn al-Dīn Mankūrus al-Fāriqānī, the emir Badr al-Dīn Shakā al-`Alā`ī, and the emir Shihāb al-Dīn Aḡmad b. al-Ashall.

The Sultan ordered the destruction of the city, for it to be burned, and for its walls and markets to be demolished. Then it was burned and made into dust, its high buildings were laid low, and destroyed, while another city after that was built beside it, close to it, which was named Tripoli “the renewed.” Many Muslims inhabited it, and the deputy of the noble sultanate used it as his capital, and stationed a roaming section of the army there.

When the Sultan finished with the issue of demolishing it, and effacing its remains, he traveled returning to the Egyptian homelands, having reached victory and power beyond his expectations. Badr al-Dīn al-Manbijī the poet and cloth-merchant, in this epic poem in which the previously mentioned conquest is described, praised the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr:

*By seriousness of purpose, you attained the maximum; by resolution you  
gained the highest aim,  
Abū al-Muẓaffar, through you the armies continued victorious over the en-  
emies using fear,  
God is your neighbor, you went from king and helper, from one who intends  
and draws near,  
To power formed, to truth made victorious, to raiding giving reward, and to  
a wage earned,*

<sup>124</sup> Farsi: *shāgird* “scholar, student, apprentice, boy.”

<sup>125</sup> Youth apprentices.

<sup>126</sup> Farsi: *shikār* “the chase, hunting.”

*By the master al-Malik al-Manṣūr the greatness of Islam was constructed,  
 while the religion of polytheism and the cross fell down, [268]  
 O one who comprehends the distant future, which the populace is unable to  
 do, by favor or anger in God,  
 You have protected what was lost of old, Tripoli, ingathering the kings who  
 cause terror and fear,  
 You exhausted yourself in this enterprise, so what a rest you have come to  
 from exhaustion,  
 A conquest that effaces all conquests of this era; shoulders will quiver in  
 delight,  
 How many years it has passed under the ropes of unbelief, but never hoped  
 to be liberated in a year,  
 You bore the humiliation patiently sometimes, not putting the face forward  
 from the covering afterwards,  
 Until when it sees an equal, it summons to its speech, leading a clamorous  
 numerous (army), then at its service,  
 Every firm heart quakes at his footsteps, believing them to be a lion of the  
 brush from fear,  
 Lions of a final battle are fighting horsemen of an apocalyptic war to the  
 death, not overawed,  
 By every region they protect, encompassing them just as the lashes protect  
 the pupil,  
 If you had witnessed them, on a marching day, while the sun came through  
 a break in the rising dust, from a trench,  
 You would imagine the spearheads to be fireballs, a melody at dusk, and the  
 swords (mushrifīyyāt) lightning, penetrating clouds,  
 Say to the kings, who you have disabled, so they are impotent, time, having  
 an end, will take care of them,  
 Brides are guided from the whiff of fortresses to those spending the night,  
 asking for their hand in marriage with swords and spears,  
 Leaving them with mangonels set up towards them; height of their towers  
 will be reduced by setting up [mangonels],  
 How many you harvested alongside of it according to your intention, who  
 became supporters,  
 Seas of their black blood you caused to flow, so every swimmer swims up to  
 the horse-bridle,  
 The sun will rise after that only upon remains of the slain, and then set,  
 What mighty lances before God you have, by which with an uncut rope you  
 arrived at the heights,  
 A vicious lion you arrived at them, leading armies, with swords, iron  
 helmets, terror and steel,  
 Crashing sea-waves came at them quickly, as if roaring over a broad road,  
 You caused them to taste, after greatness, the bitterness of humiliation, and  
 after security, cups of fear and disease,*

*O raiser of the monotheistic religion's flag, and the one who has lowered the religion of filth and crosses,  
 If you attain what kings' hunting was unable to do, then you have encompassed mountains by its felicitous conquest, [269]  
 So the Sword Verse—how many verses it abrogated,<sup>127</sup> while the rising of the sun, how many meteors it concealed,  
 Every righteous deed compensates you for your rank, and drives away from you a succession of watches,  
 You continue to be high and center against the enemies, hoped and feared, but gentle towards Islam.<sup>128</sup>*

The Sultan busied himself with the importation of mamluks and Tatars, intending to increase the numbers and achieve victory, so he spent money for those merchants who would bring them through the deserts and the seas, giving them incentives by customs allowances (*musāmahāt*) for rights of import and export. Therefore, they brought to him a great number and quantity of them [slaves] until he acquired a number no one prior to him had been able to gain.

This was about 6000, which he purchased with his wealth, and educated them in the manner of children, in the manner of sacred fighting (*jihād*), and raiding the enemies and opponents. He continued to be solicitous of them, treating them well, making sure to assign to them monthly pay (*jāmakīyyāt*) to *iqṭā'* fiefs.

From the *mafārida* to the emirs of 10, then to the [commanders of a] marching band. Among them were those who were transferred to the command of 1000s, or to being emirs of 100s. He had a gathering of the previously mentioned provisions that was like a building; nay, it was more powerful than a building. May God grant them success through his felicity, and make their felicity to grow and increase always.

### **Mention of the death of Qubilai Khan son of Tului son of Dūshā<sup>129</sup> son of Genghis Khan**

**During it** Qubilai Khan died, who was the senior khan because he sat on the throne, and was the ruler of Genghis Khan's seat. His reign had been lengthy, and his realm extended. His son Sharmūn sat [on the throne] after him.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>127</sup> Q9:5 is usually supposed to have abrogated several hundred Qur'ānic verses.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Q48:29.

<sup>129</sup> Otherwise unknown.

<sup>130</sup> Qubilai was succeeded by his grandson, Temūr (1294–1307). Sharmūn may be Temūr's father Zhenjin, who had been the crown prince, but died in 1285. Baybars' date for Qubilai's death is inaccurate in any case.

**Mention of the realm of Sharmūn son of Qubilai Khan son  
of Tului son of Dūshā son of Genghis Khan**

**During it** the previously mentioned took power, which was that his father had three sons, who were Numghān, Sharmūn and Kalmak.<sup>131</sup> As for Numghān, he was sent to the land of Khaṭā [China] when he was angered at him after his return from being defeated by Qaidu in retreat, so he died in the land of Khaṭā as we mentioned. Sharmūn was the eldest of his brothers, so they enthroned him over the realm, and he has stayed until this very day.

**During it** the Qur'ān-memorizer Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Zarzārī died on 8 Jumādā al-Ulā of it [May 31, 1289]. [270]

**During it** the emir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars *al-jāliq* al-Ṣāliḥī led the people on the pilgrimage via the Egyptian caravan, while from Syria, the emir Zayn al-Dīn Ghalbak al-Fakhrī.

**Year 689 [1290] Mention of the Sultan's departure,  
determined to raid Acre**

**During this year** it became known to him that the Franks in Acre had disturbed the peace, made pointless [the truce], and caused corruption. This had gotten to the point where it Muslim merchants, who had mamluks, had come to the city. These were taken to the gates, and surrounded. They were then killed, and the mamluks who were with them were taken, as well as merchandise.

When this event became known to the Sultan, he became greatly enraged, and was resolved upon going to them, and taking vengeance upon them. So he prepared for traveling, departing from the Citadel, and camped at the Straw Mosque during the final ten days of Shawwāl [November 1290].

He had left as his son al-Malik al-Ashraf in his place in his Citadel, the emir Zayn al-Dīn Kitbughā deputy sultan, and the emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Shujā`ī, who had been returned to the ministership, while the armies departed. However, when there was nothing left but to get on the road, fate prevented him from what he desired, and the decree of God overtook him to die.

**Mention of the death of the martyr al-Malik al-Manṣūr,  
may God sanctify his spirit, and enlighten his tomb**

**During it** the death of the martyr Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, possessed of the initiative for which we are grateful, the previously mentioned self-control, the righteous deeds—and this was because he had departed, resolved to raid and terrorize illegitimate rulers. Nothing remained but his getting on the road

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<sup>131</sup> Qubilai's other sons were Jimgim, Nomoghan and Manggala.

from the Straw Mosque when a sickness took him. Doctors treated him, wise and knowledgeable ones treated him gently, but his constitution worsened and no treatment was efficacious for him.

He lingered like that from the last ten days of Shawwāl until the first ten days of Dhū al-Qa`da [early November 1290], while his pains increased daily, and his strength decreased. He died on 6 Dhū al-Qa`da [November 10, 1290] on Saturday in the royal tent (*dihlīz*) of the Straw Mosque's residence. The shock was general, hearts were grieved, this world was darkened to lose him, and his self-control, and good-intentions that became naught. Therefore, he went victorious with the reward that he had gained from sacral fighting (*jihād*) in the path of God. [271]

God Most High said in His clear Book, who is the Most Truthful of sayers, "Whoever goes forth from his house, emigrating to God and His messenger, (and) then death overtakes him—his reward falls upon God (to pay). Surely God is forgiving, compassionate."<sup>132</sup>

The Messenger of God said, "God guarantees that for someone who departs in the path of God, who only departs for sacral fighting in My path, belief in Me and trusting in My messengers, I will cause him to enter paradise or return him to his home from which he departed, having gained both reward and booty."<sup>133</sup>

The period of his rule was eleven full years, and of sons, he left behind al-Malik al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl and al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.

One of the poets composed lines eulogizing him at their beginning and congratulating al-Ashraf at their end, which is:

*If time has caused hearts pain and grief, then it has been surrounded by  
happiness and congratulations,  
A great message has come to us after him—joy whose morning has dispelled  
the gloom of worry,  
In al-Manṣūr's city we have beheld the loss, but in his son we have witnessed  
all expectations,  
So if time has done him wrong, then through al-Ashraf al-Malik  
al-Mu'ayyid (the Supporter) it has done well,  
O one who departs,<sup>134</sup> causing eyes to weep, you have left one for whom  
hearts and eyes are filled with joy,  
You have done well, then left among us one who does well, to be well  
recompensed, whether your person is absent or near,  
So be ennobled (fa-shrif) in whom you have left in your place for the  
populace, and be pleased with the good praise you have received,*

<sup>132</sup> Q4:100.

<sup>133</sup> al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, iv, pp. 264–5 (no. 2787) [paraphrase].

<sup>134</sup> Qalāwūn.



*You are the one who hastily plunged into the Euphrates, giving the Mongol  
 army cups of destruction to drink,  
 On the Field of Hımş you rendered their large group splinters, not fearing  
 even an accuser's accusation,  
 You afflicted the Messiah's worshippers at Marqab; they had thought it was  
 fortified from the vicissitude of time,  
 You descended upon Tripoli, so that it became a tale told; its inhabitant  
 would say "there was..."  
 You raided Dongola with the smallest of forces, bringing their army humili-  
 ated, submissive,  
 You built a school and a hospital in a year—what those before you were  
 incapable of doing,  
 By the learned and wise you protected the populace's lifeblood from the  
 disaster of error and weakness,  
 Therefore, the one sick began to be righted, healthy, and the one in error  
 became a jurisprudent, religious, [272]  
 You went out, going to Acre, leading an army; had he desired to plunge into  
 the sea, it would have been easy,  
 From the Lord of the worshippers came His decree of death, so your radiant  
 face was made absent,  
 All the world's souls wish to redeem you from the judgement of death, if  
 they only could,  
 They would shield you for a time from your tomb, so they could gaze upon  
 you jealously in the earth's belly as a home,  
 Until your grave clearly becomes a meadow in the highest of paradise, the  
 closest of the gardens,  
 O Sword of God's Religion, if cups of some desire fell away from you as you  
 were picking them,  
 Rejoice, for you have left a sword in your place from which the attainment  
 of desire will not fall or slip away,  
 Enjoy your noble place, for the dominion of the one you have left behind will  
 ever increase in might.*

### **Mention of the rule of Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Şalāh al-Dīn Khalīl son of the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr**

**During it** the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf sat upon the noble sultanic throne  
 all by himself in his unsurpassed Islamic realm on 7 Dhū al-Qa`da year  
 690 [November 11, 1290]. When his father the martyr Sultan died in the  
 pavilion, the emir Hūsām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy stood [by him] personally, and  
 conveyed him to the Citadel, as well as conveying the treasures hastily. He  
 ordered the governors, and the deputies to guard the streets and the gates,  
 and had a crier cry out that anyone who spoke of what is not his business,  
 it will go ill for him.

Al-Malik al-Ashraf became ruler all by himself, unopposed, and neither lips nor tongue moved against him. His father, may God envelope him in His favor, and prepare for him [a place] in the midmost paradise,<sup>135</sup> when he was summoned to the presence [died] called him to the pavilion. He asked him (al-Ashraf) to come close, as he was in his death-agony, and enjoined upon him to guard his realms, to redouble the watch over them, to make sure to treat them well, to continue everyone in their *iqṭā`* fiefs, and their positions in Egypt and Syria, and to concern himself with their interests completely.

When he was enthroned, one of the poets declaimed the following line praising him in them:

*O just one, o dispenser of justice, your call is I hope for the blessing that has been described,  
 Servants of God are not in need of attaining them, because your generosity is a sea that knows,  
 The people obey you willingly; neither spear nor whetted blade humiliate them,  
 How many kings have ruled Egypt, how many were generous, or not generous, and not immoderate? [273]  
 Until al-Manṣūr (the Victorious) came who made mortals forget the rest of what had preceded,  
 Never have they produced the likes of his god-fearingness, nor did they leave behind [a successor] like he did,  
 So be proud of the acquisitions boastfully; you have gained (them), as you are al-Malik al-Ashraf!*

All of the Islamic mamluks submitted in the Egyptian and Syrian homelands, and the mamluks of his father, which were the governors, the deputies in the districts—all obeyed him and placed the role of leadership upon him quickly. They were the supports of his building, the foundations of his structures, so here we will enumerate the most famous among them at that time, and the notables among them:

### **Mention of those who had the rank of emir in the Egyptian homelands**

1. Emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, the deputy sultan, and supreme commander (*atābak*) of the armies
2. Emir Zayn al-Dīn Kitbughā, deputy sultan in [case of] absence, and doubling in standing
3. Emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Shujā`ī, the one in charge of the ministry, and the emirship attendant upon it

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<sup>135</sup> According to tradition, the location a martyr should ask for.

4. Emir Badr al-Dīn Baydarā, *ustādh al-dār* (majordomo), who was also one of those giving counsel
5. Emir `Izz al-Dīn Aybak *al-khazindār* (treasurer), also assigned to the position of *amīr jāndār* (guard)

**Those who governed the Syrian realms, who took its  
reigns and are responsible for its order**

1. Emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn *al-silahdār* (sword-bearer), senior deputy sultan for the protected city of Damascus
2. Emir Shams al-Dīn Qarāsunqur *al-jūkandār* (batman), deputy sultan in the Aleppan realm
3. Emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān *al-silahdār* (sword-bearer), deputy sultan in the coastal fortresses
4. Emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān *al-jūkandār*, deputy sultan in the Safed districts
5. Emir Badr al-Dīn Kikalādī al-Manṣūrī, deputy sultan in the Ḥimṣan lands
6. Emir `Alā' al-Dīn Kushtghadī al-Manṣūrī, deputy sultan in Shawbak and its districts
7. Emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar Arjawāsh, deputy sultan in the citadel of protected Damascus [274]
8. Emir Shams al-Dīn Aqsunqur Kartiyya, deputy sultan in Gaza and the districts of Ramla
9. The impoverished one unto God Most High, Baybars *al-dawādār*, deputy in protected Kerak and its districts

And so forth including those we did not mention until now among the Manṣūriyya, Ṣālihiyya and Ashrafiyya [regiments] which had previously attained the rank of emir. If we enumerated them all, the discourse would be lengthy, and we would fill a section of this book, so we only mentioned a few out of the many of those who participated in the positions [of power] and administration. We will mentioned each grouping among them with the matters, and its participation in the policy-making of the mass at the appropriate time, and its coming up in the text.

We have only begun with these so that the one who reads our *History* will know that the martyr, when he passed into the mercy of his Lord, had only those from his grouping and faction or someone who was his slave and then was manumitted in appointed positions. All of them belonged to his son after him, guarding and kept by him.

When he desired what he desired, he never broke any violation or ratification. May God have mercy upon a king who left this legacy, gave these benefits generously, and treasured up helpers for the religion by whom the victory was magnified. This house [of Qalāwūn] has continued to be standing as a lighthouse, continuous in victory, staying as long as the night and the day, so how could we not pray for its continuity and the eternity of its days when we

dressed in the clothes of its favors, safe in the shade of its past and present, when we have attained through it the loftiest objectives, reached by the felicity of its ancestor the highest levels—he who led us by his genealogy to be well-thought of east and west, so that we ourselves pray and supplicate—and may God assent!—[upon Him] we rely.

### Mention of the arrest of emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy and his death

When al-Malik al-Ashraf was established in the realm, the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy stood before him, affirming that he [al-Ashraf] could depend upon him, and delegate matters to him just as had been during the lifetime of his father. There was an old grudge on the Sultan's mind from the time of his father, as he used to imagine that he [Ṭurunṭāy] prevented him from many of his goals, just as the back-biters used to speak concerning him, and as the busy-bodies' malicious words they would tell each other, which caused people to burn up inside.

Al-Shujā'ī also used to dislike him, and loathe him because of his removal which happened on his trip which we have mentioned,<sup>136</sup> and conspired with that the personal guards (*khāṣakiyya*) faction about him. When they knew of his harshness, and had verified his severity and pointedness, they saw that the Sultan was averse to him, so they made arresting him seem like a good thing.

When it was Friday 12 Dhū al-Qa`da [November 16, 1290] the Sultan summoned him before him, [275] so he entered safely, in tranquility, not fearing the vicissitude of time, and not being cognizant of disasters' approaching, saying to himself that he was the order and pillar of the realm, in his hands were its administration and reins. He was not aware of the misfortunes that lay hidden for him, and the cumulative disasters that were placed before him.

When they were apparent before him, hands were placed upon him, and he was taken to prison in the worst possible manner. This was just as one said:

*You thought the days were good, not fearing the evil fate was bringing you,  
Nights assisted you, and then deceived you, so in the clarity of the nights,  
gloom occurred.*

Al-Shujā'ī was appointed over the guard upon his possessions, revenues and stores, so he took over his [Ṭurunṭāy's] house in Cairo, and seized its treasures, valuables and treasures, and took them to the Royal Treasury (*bayt al-māl*) in one fell swoop. The Sultan ordered his horses and mamluks to be dispersed, and healed his rage<sup>137</sup> by erasing his memory, and hastening his demise. His execution was during the previously mentioned month, returning to the denizens of the grave. al-Shujā'ī took over his deputyship after him for a few days, but did not continue long.

<sup>136</sup> From a section untranslated.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. Q9:14–15.

### **Mention of delegation of the deputy sultanate to emir Badr al-Dīn Baydarā**

**During it** the Sultan delegated the deputy sultanate to the emir Badr al-Dīn Baydarā al-Manṣūrī, so they discussed that, and he seized the *iqṭā'* fief of the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, counted it, with those purchased additions, and protected areas on the outskirts of the districts.

He sought to annex a large portion of the adjoining areas, purchasing them for his chancellery from their fief-holders, and lands he had taken over, having his deputies extend their hands into the [adjacent] districts. With that he raked in many of the types of wealth, so that there was no region remaining of which the majority was not in their hands. The fief-holders received nothing from their *iqṭā'* fiefs except what they had donated to them, so they were harmed, went hungry, and continuously and frequently complained.

### **Mention of his delegation of the ministership to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Sal'ūs**

**During it** the Sultan delegated the ministership to a man known as Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Sal'ūs, who was from the people of Damascus. A merchant, who attached himself to al-Malik al-Ashraf's door during the lifetime of his father, and managed some small properties in Syria on his behalf. He earned a sum and conveyed it to him [276], who was impressed by this, and thus became a favorite, and was placed as his Chancellery's Inspector.

He removed him, and utilized him in his place, while his father was traveling in Syria, and he desired to rise in his service and standing, so bought some different allotments of fief-holders in the lands. Then he accumulated a modest share in every land. He expropriated most of its wealth and produce, evicting the fief-holders without any compensation. He prevented them from speaking about it with their peasants, so the fief-holders cried out for help when the Sultan returned from Syria.

They congregated in al-Malik al-Ashraf's chancellery, and engaged him with words, so the Sultan was enraged about this, and disapproved of his son. He ordered the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn to arrest the aforementioned inspector, and to make him render accounts about these matters.

He arrested him, confiscated from him, publicly punished him, removing him from his chancellery, and placed him in the service of the chief Fakhr al-Dīn b. al-Khalīlī, who was the inspector for his brother's chancellery during his lifetime. He stayed with him, without really getting along. However, this was one of the most significant causes of al-Ashraf changing his opinion about the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn, though he concealed his enmity.

When Ibn Sal'ūs finished off with the confiscation, he proceeded during Shawwāl of this year [October 1290] to the Ḥijāz. al-Malik al-Ashraf was

made Sultan during Dhū al-Qa`da, [November 1290] then he sent fast riders (*najjābīn*) to search for him, and to encourage him to present himself with his envoys and books. It was even said that he wrote to him in his own handwriting, in the middle of his letter:

O Reddy (*shuqayr*), O face of goodness, hurry up and present yourself, so you can receive the Egyptian homelands and Syrian ministry.

The hour he [Ibn Sal`ūs] arrived he [al-Ashraf] bestowed upon him the robe of ministry, and the pens and mule were given to him without any delay. His hand and tongue were outstretched and his presence and influence strengthened. He manifested pomposity, arrogance, pride and haughtiness to a large degree. Some of the royal mamluks were dispatched in his service, so they would ride in his formal sessions, and stop when he sat in his council.

He began to ride in a large procession of soldiers, members of the chancelleries, and others with turbans. The Sultan expanded his daily allowance and rank, and bestowed official state appointments upon him, so the emirs and senior leaders began to use him as a go-between for their business matters. Among them there were those who would kiss his hands, when one of their petitions was presented to him, expanding then to other matters in which they were engaged, and circumstances of pomp and splendor.

This was a reason for his evil end, according to the situation that we will mention. How accurate was the one who said:

*One who hangs on pomposity, his ethics are bare—hung (reduced) by naked hatred to this nakedness,*

*One who overreaches, the silliness of extension makes him no longer able to attain that which is close,*

*Whoever does not stop at the end of their abilities, increasing errors will cause him to fail. [277]*

**During it** shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan `Alī b. Zuhayr, known as Ibn al-Kaftī al-Muqrī died.

**During it** the governor over Marrakesh revolted against Abū Ya`qūb al-Marīnī, who was called Ibn `Aṭū,<sup>138</sup> and he corresponded with his son Abū `Āmir `Abdallāh, calling upon him to hand over the city to him. So Abū `Āmir went to him, then the inhabitants of Marrakesh, of al-Sūs al-Aqṣā, the mountains and the Bedouin were gathered to him, and a number of the Banū Marīn slipped away to him.

So he became quite strong, openly opposing and disagreeing with his father, so his father went to him personally. There was a river valley between them

<sup>138</sup> Probably Yaḥyā b. `Aṭūsh as in Ibn Abī Zar`, *Dhakhīra*, p. 110.

called Wādī Umm Rabī',<sup>139</sup> and it was wintertime, so he crossed that river leading those with him, and his son met him [in battle] leading those who had attached themselves to him from Marrakesh.

Abū `Āmir was defeated, and many of those with him were killed, and his father took many of those who had joined themselves to him for their evil actions, then killed most of them. So his son ended up in the Saksīwah Mountains,<sup>140</sup> where he stayed there for days. Then the situation became difficult for him, and he saw that there was no refuge from the hand of his father, so he sought intercession from him via a number of the righteous (Sufis), and descended to him.

He ordered his son `Abd al-Raḥmān, who was his heir-apparent, to take him in, and those of his followers who were with him. As for him, he was set at liberty, but as for those who were with him, he killed them in their entirety.

**During it** the Franks took the island of Jirba from the ruler of Tūnis. It was one of the districts of Malawiyya.

**During it** Abū `Āmir returned to rebellion against his father, but was routed before him, while he was seeking the western lands (*maghrib*), so he settled in the loyalty of Banū `Abd al-Wād, dwelling in front of [...] [278]

**Year 690 [1291] Mention of the conquest of the city of  
Acre—flattening it after it had been built up—on Friday 17  
Jumādā al-Ākhira [June 17, 1291] of this year**

**During it** the Sultan resolved to go to Acre, besiege it, and be serious in fighting it, completing what his father had resolved to do: to take it and uproot it. Therefore, he proceeded to prepare the armies, and wrote to the deputies in the regions of the realms to send the Syrian armies to it, and convey mangonels and implements to construct them. He ordered a great muster of reserves, and that none of the troops should delay.

He sent the emir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭuḡhrīl al-Ayghānī to Damascus, Ḥamāh and Ḥiṣn al-Akrād to encourage the deputies in them to hasten to the previously mentioned direction, and to bring those stored siege implements. They hastened and made each other hasten, and were not late, but Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn *al-ṣilahdār*, the deputy of Syria, was apprehensive about the Sultan. He was fearful when Ṭurunṭāy had been killed, so he sat it out, but then had no choice but to proceed [to Acre].

Therefore, he proceeded, accompanied by the emirs of Damascus and its army, and the ruler of Ḥamāh presented himself, together with those with him, and the deputies of the realms, and those with them. The armies of Islam assembled together, and the Sultan dispatched the sharp-cutting mindfulness,

<sup>139</sup> Flowing through central Morocco, still with this name.

<sup>140</sup> A little to the southeast of present-day Bani Mellal.



whetting the blade of resolution, and rolled up the sleeve that no energetic king was capable of doing.

**The author says** at that time I was in Kerak, so when the matter of this raid reached me, and the Sultan's commands arrived ordering the preparation of the armories and the implements, so my soul yearned for sacral fighting (*jihād*) and longed for it the way the thirsty land longs for the spring-rain.

So I informed the Sultan of that, and asked him whether I could come and join and participate in the reward of the raid, so he gave permission to me to present myself, and was gracious in allowing that. I was like one whose hope was realized in success, as the night burst into morning, so I equipped myself with protecting armor, beneficial implements [of war], eager men, archers, miners (*hajjārīn*), the fighters, and the wood-workers, and proceeded to meet up with the Sultan.

I reached him when he had already arrived in Gaza, so met honor, joy and a smile. I was pleased to join with him riding to Acre, so when we camped up against it, he enclosed its inhabitants. When news had reached them of the Sultan's movement to raid them, and his coming towards them, they had [279] sent to their senior kings asking for assistance from the seas.

A great muster was made of the Templars and Hospitallers, and they fortified the towers and walls, manifested readiness, and indifference to the siege. They did not even close the city gates, nor did they lower the portcullis (*hijāb*). So the Islamic mangonels were set up, and the Muḥammadan armies encompassed it, sending stones thundering like lightning bolts at it, and arrows flashing like lightning. It was squeezed in the tightest way possible, while in spite of that they manifested firmness, and did not close the city gates.

They assaulted the army night and day, and fought frequently. The emir 'Alā' al-Dīn Kushtghadī al-Shamsī, the emir Badr al-Dīn Bīlīk al-Mas'ūdī, and Sharaf al-Dīn Qīrān al-Sakzī were all martyred there. The fighting intensified, while the siege fires were kindled, and clouds bearing arrow heads followed one another.

Through the midst of this, I was hoping for a place that would lead to opportunity, so sought it, looking closely for a front in which a stratagem would gain the victory, but did not find one. While I was turning my thought to this, and my vision and intelligence was engrossed, suddenly a tower glistened as the mangonels had left their imprint on it—it was possible to make out a way between it and the walls to slip in, unguarded, openly.

It was not possible to simply walk into it, because the crossbows dominated it, other than by making a covering that would lengthen it, encompass it, warding those who would enter. So I made a beeline to the wool (*lubūd*),<sup>141</sup> gathering it all up, stitching it together tightly, thus fashioning together a great covering, both tall and broad.

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<sup>141</sup> To protect from the boiling oil and water that would be raining down.



I positioned it towards the destroyed curtain-wall (*badana*) of the tower, two swords from both of the sides, and then made over the heads of the two of them a pulley (*bakara*) like that of boats and ropes to enable pulling. Then I pulled this covering made of wool, so it stood as a barrier, testing this out in the midst of the night, while they were careless.

When it was morning, they saw this protective covering (*hijāb*), they targeted it with the mangonels and the arrows-shooters (*nushshāb*). The stones when they fell on it bounced off the wool underneath, so their force (*zakhm*) was nullified, while the crossbows (*jurūkh*) when they fired at it, their arrows were unable to penetrate it.

With that we were able to open a way through, and walls were erected between us and the enemies. We crossed the barrier of the moat, which was between the two walls with the horses' nosebags filled with earth in order to ease from [280] the wood.

This became a useable walkway, and was an excellent idea. The Sultan heard about it, so it impressed him, and he rode personally, bringing the kettledrums and the marching-bands. These struck at the morning, heralding the first signs of success. Then the rush against them happened from that place, and others.

The armies raised the sultanic standards, and slaughtered the Frankish fighters, taking over the city, putting it to the sword, and doing incredible deeds. Children and wives were taken captive, and God caused dreams to be realized in the conquest, pleasuring the eyes, and on that day the believers rejoiced.

The Franks experienced humiliation and lowliness, and suffered a defeat from which there was no recovery. The large towers, in which the Templars, the Germans [Teutonic knights] and the Hospitallers were. Oh no! when those they were protecting were being assaulted, and the strength of their strong ones and soldiers was weakening.

So we besieged them for approximately ten days more, then they asked for safe conduct for what was over 10,000 people. They had no place to flee when they desired to flee, nor a place to stay when they required a place, so the emirs distributed them among themselves to kill them, killing them to the very last one. The Sultan gave a number of them a lease on life, sending them to the fortresses.

This incredible conquest was on the blessed Friday 17 Jumādā al-Ākhira of this year [June 17, 1291]. God liberated Acre from the hands of the unbelievers at the hand of al-Malik al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn just as its conquest previously had been at the hand of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. It was in their hands for 103 years without one of the Ayyūbid kings or the lords of the Turkish states that followed them being able to rise up and return it, nor did any of them set their eyes on conquering it.

This was because the Franks took it during the al-Nāṣirī days in the year 587 [1191], God be praised for the Muslims' victory, and the triumph of those

proclaiming God's unity, removing the state of the religion's enemies, suppressing tyranny, and deniers of God by means of the highest intentions and the Maṣṣūrī Ashrafī victorious resolutions.

There is no doubt that this group (*tā'ifa*) has overcome those preceding it, and thereby this dynasty has gained victory and splendor that no dynasty before did. When God predetermined this victory, eased it, allowed it, permitted it, and hastened it, the poets recited it, the meritorious mentioned it, and when its towers were set ablaze, and the fires lit up, so they were destroyed and fell, the judge Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Ḥalabī, confidential secretary (*al-inshā'*) composed these two lines, which are:

*I passed by Acre, after its walls' destruction, a flint kindling fire was prepared in its midst, [281]  
After it had become Christian, to my eyes it was now Zoroastrian, with its towers prostrating to the fire.*

Among that which was composed concerning it was an epic poem by Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. `Umar al-Manbijī al-Bazzāz (cloth merchant) in protected Cairo:

*You have reached the outer limits of hope, leaving behind all the kings of yore,  
You attained with generosity alone what the earth's kings were not able to even with tricks among the people,  
So let its bird anoint your favored dynasty, as it is a gleam on the faces of (all) the dynasties,  
Be happy with your high countenance, felicity has come to you with an un-snappable rope,  
For you are the Righteous One of the religion and this world; in them bearing unbearable hardships,  
How many desires have you fulfilled, spending the nights considering with your sharp-cutting resolution, naked unnotched,  
How many fortresses you have conquered, from which for so long kings have returned in frustration,  
You are the one who did not leave unbelief a city in which to take refuge, nor any hope for its religion,  
You protected bright-shining Acre in a way kings were unable to do with unchecked resolution,  
The best-warded city it was yesterday in its fortification and strength; a stronghold for timeless nights,  
How many of the earth's kings called upon her desirous, but it rejected them haughtily, from distraction,  
You turned aside from hunting, not wasting time, nor allowing imaginations to wonder,*

*Whether they have a filial woman—how many suitors other than you  
 desired to marry her, but did not say so or achieve it,  
 Until you ordered it, then touched her, while she was obedient after refusing,  
 conforming to your command,  
 Others desire her, but at your hands was the conquest (predestined) from  
 all eternity,  
 A conquest too lengthy for prose to encompass it descriptively, or for com-  
 posing poetry which has time to ripen,  
 You attacked it, and it was struck after its inhabitants were surprised by  
 blackest treachery in return for treachery,  
 Among a clanging army whose stars are like the night, appearing to the seer  
 to be of swords and spears,  
 The army covered both abyss and hillock, overspreading plains and  
 mountains,  
 You would imagine them and the noble horses under them to lions dressed in  
 majesty upon the summits,  
 The eye does not apprehend from them other than their eyeballs that they  
 are wearing their war apparatus by day, [282]  
 Against it you had armies confront, which had you confronted the  
 hard mountains with them, they would have disappeared and ceased  
 to exist,  
 So it (Acre) became after the glory of dominion tractable because of hu-  
 miliating, dominion age-long in shambles,  
 Becoming a ruin, its inhabitants with nothing, the hand of the days writing  
 it as a proverb,  
 Its weapons carried off, (once) pleasurable for entertainment because of  
 decoration and dress, now laid waste,  
 Its remains wiped out, more pleasing to the soul than a lush garden, now  
 destroyed,  
 The Trinity has been removed from us by al-Ashraf, the lord, the Sultan,  
 and the Oneness of God is overjoyed,  
 An administration possessed of wisdom, in vengeful glory, renewed age in  
 mature opinion,  
 Their spirits carried off by the edge of Indian (swords), their possessions  
 by the attack of spoils,  
 Razed, never to be built, dispersed what was gathered, cut short what was  
 continuous, without celebrating,  
 When their cities on the coast became wilderness after the inhabitants no  
 longer work them,  
 How much of an army you caused to stay there due to fear of your might  
 when you traveled from it?  
 You continue to be possessed of a rank in heavenly glory, and rulership,  
 grasping the shooting stars' forelocks!*

### **Mention of the conquest of the fortresses by which God pleased the eyes**

Which are Tyre, Sidon, `Athlīth, Beirut and Haifa.

During the previously mentioned month of *Jumādā al-Ākhira* God eased the targeting of these fortresses, and made taking care of them simple. What thought does not occur immediately is sometimes simple. This was that the Sultan, when he conquered Acre, ordered it to be razed, so it was flattened, and returned to being destroyed, the Frankish hearts were filled with awe of him. God cast the terror of him into the coastal districts, and the localities' inhabitants feared his tread, dreading his vengeance.

Therefore, they came to an agreement to submit, requesting salvation, and handing over the cities into the hand of the Muslims. They departed from them [283] unwillingly, vacating them sullenly, handing them over to the Sultan without any difficulty. His standards were placed [over them] without any mishap.

Felicitous purpose and good fortune had rendered armies' difficulties and months of swordplay unnecessary. How like he was to his namesake,<sup>142</sup> and how similar the two were, other than the one charged forward, and took hastily and forthrightly what the other took over a long period of time, with years' preparation. So he commanded them to be razed, and they were.

Among the strange things told which was confirmed, was that on the aforementioned Friday when a church outside of *Sīwās*<sup>143</sup> collapsed, which the Christians claim had been in their hands since the time of the Messiah [Jesus], as its ceiling and buttresses cracked. Nothing that would lead to its destruction had been apparent, but indeed, it just collapsed because of its hopes being wounded, and an intention that had foreordained its destruction and finality.

### **Mention of his detaining the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn *al-silahdār***

In it the Sultan removed Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn *al-silahdār* al-Manṣūrī from being the deputy sultanate in Syria, and entrusted it to the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Shujā`ī, as he had slandered the former to him, so imagined things about him because of that. The one who slandered him was the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Ḥamawī, Abū Khurṣ, then he caused Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn to worry about the Sultan, saying to him that "He is determined to detain you, and destroy you."

Fear drove him [Lājīn] to flee in order to save himself, so he rode from the pavilion one night, going away pell-mell. Some of the Syrian emirs advised

<sup>142</sup> Ṣalāh al-Dīn.

<sup>143</sup> In northern Anatolia.

him to return to his camp and stay in his place. He returned, concealed the same night, but the report reached the Sultan, so he sent to him to detain him [Lājīn], and then sent him under guard to the Egyptian homelands.

### **Mention of the Sultan proceeding to protected Damascus and his return to the Egyptian homelands**

**In it** the Sultan went from Acre to Damascus. The city went wild for him, and was decorated in the most beautiful manner. He entered it leading his processions like the full moon (*badr*) among his planets/stars. He played the ball-game (*kurra*) in its square, and assigned the emir `Alam [284] al-Dīn al-Shujā`ī to it, and returned towards the Egyptian homelands.

**He commanded** me to go to Kerak, so I asked him whether I could enter his service, and return together with his riding-troop, in his company, and be released from returning to Kerak. He assented to releasing me from returning to it, and assigned the emir Jamāl al-Dīn Aqūsh al-Ashrafī as the deputy for the sultanate in it [Kerak]. He was a man of good policy, manifest leadership, and al-Malik al-Manşūr, may God sanctify his spirit, and enlighten his tomb, had bought him for his son al-Ashraf.

He advanced in his service, until he became majordomo for him prior to his sultanate. He was a candidate for different positions because of his good conduct. When he was settled in Kerak, he acted well, and manifested just reasonableness. Then the Sultan returned to the Egyptian homelands rejoicing in what God had conquered for him, and had eased at his hands.

**In it** he ordered the construction of the Zāhirī arched-dome (*rafrāf*) which is in the Citadel, for it to be expanded, and its roof (*samak*) to be raised and decorated. So it was widened, built, raised, whitened, embellished, and the emirs of the dynasty and its elite were depicted (*suwwirat*) in it. A cupola on columns was arched for him, and it continued to be a reception area for the Sultan and for those kings of time after him, as it looked out over the Horse Market, the square, the lions and other places.

### **Mention of the death of Arghun son of Abagha son of Hūlegū, and the establishment of Gaykhātū son of Abagha son of Hūlegū son of Ṭului son of Genghis Khan as king of the Tatars in the eastlands during this year**

**In it** the death of Arghun, the king of the Tatars, was confirmed. He died on the banks of the Karr River in the land of Arran during the month of Rabī` al-Awwal year 690 [March 1291]. The period of his reign was seven years, and it is said that he died from assassination through a poison that was administered to him by his minister, but it is also said that he died a natural death.

It is said that he followed the religion of the al-Bakshiyya,<sup>144</sup> which is a group that is known for its worship of idols and magic. Their way is extolled especially by the group that is ascribed to the Brahmans of India. Every year he would sit 40 days in seclusion, as part of a holy vow (*taḥannuth*),<sup>145</sup> and avoid animal meat.

A man from India came as a delegation to him claiming that he knew the knowledge of the religions and the bodies. He received inspiration that he [Arghun] should take a paste continuously, which if he ingested it, his life would be lengthened. So he prepared it [285] for him, he ingested it, which made him do perverted things and have seizures. God caused his life to be shortened, when he had desired it to be extended, and enjoyed. God knows best what his struggle was like.

He left two male children: Qāzān (=Ghazan) and Khudabandā, who were both in Khurāsān. The khans, the commanders of the 10,000s (*tūmāns*), the senior emirs, and the bureaucrats agreed to place Gaykhātū his brother [on the throne], so they placed him in the realm, and gave him the rank of Sultan.

When his rule became established, and his judgments became effective, his conduct became evil, and he abandoned the accepted *Yāsā*. He involved himself in iniquity, debauching the Mongol women, and having homosexual relations with their sons. What occurred with him we will mention.

### **Mention of the killing of Töle Buqa son of Ṭarbū son of Jūshī Khān son of Genghis Khān, king of the Tatars in the northlands<sup>146</sup>**

**In** it was the killing of Töle Buqa, king of the Tatars, who sat on the seat of Berke, which was that when he went to raid the lands of the Karal just as we mentioned, and Nogai went to him, they achieved what they had intended. Each one of them returned then to his dwelling place—his wintering site—with Nogai following the level road, so arriving with his army safely.

However, Töle Buqa followed the difficult torrent, so most of those with him perished of hunger, cold and loss in accord with what we detailed. The guard (*shihṇā'*) adjudicated between the two of them, but he harbored evil thoughts towards him [Nogai], and resolved to attack him. He agreed upon this with those of his guard (*biṭāna*) and the sons of Mengū Temūr gathered together with his faction (*fī'a*).

<sup>144</sup> A Turkish word derived from Chinese denoting Buddhism.

<sup>145</sup> This term is also used for the Prophet Muḥammad to describe his pre-Islamic spiritual seclusion, and its meaning is not clearly understood.

<sup>146</sup> Compare Robert Mitchell and Nevill Forbes (trans.), *Novgorod Chronicle* (Hattiesburg: Academic International, 1970), p. 111 (for year 1291).

Nogai was an experienced older man, knowledgeable in how to carry out stratagems. What Töle Buqa was going to do to him was related to him, so he mustered the armies, then he sent summoning him giving off the impression that he needed him for consultation and giving opinion. Nogai corresponded with Töle Buqa's mother, and said to her:

Your son is a young king, and I desire to give him good counsel, and acquaint him with interests that underpin the basis for assigning rank, and the establishment of exports and imports. It is not possible for me to do this for him without being private in a place where no one else will come. I would like to meet him with a small number, and that the armies he has mustered would not be around him.

So the woman tended to accept what he said, and being deceived by his mis-  
sive, advised her son to agree to it. His resolve to ignore it dimmed, then Töle Buqa dispersed the army, which he had mustered, and sent to Nogai to present himself to him [286] so he prepared, gathered his army, and sent Mengü Temür to his sons, who had been tending towards him—who were ʦuqtā, Barlak, ʦarāy Bughā and Tidān—that they should join him.

Then he hastened, traveling by cutting the number of stops, and by avoiding settled areas, until he closed in on Töle Buqa's dwelling that had been prepared for the meeting. He left the army that was with him, and those children of Mengü Temür present with him, namely ʦaqtā, and the others mentioned, concealed in a given location, and then had a small number accompany him.

He then proceeded towards Töle Buqa, who came to greet him, safely and tranquilly. With him were Alghī, ʦughriljā, Mulghān, Qadān, Qutghān, sons of Mengü Temür. They were fleeing to him, and forsaking Töle Buqa. Therefore, Töle Buqa and Nogai met, and began to speak together, taking advice, but Töle Buqa was not aware of horses that were approaching him, as they came in single file.

Then he was confused, as Nogai's stratagem and trick closed in around him. The army waited, expecting that Nogai would order them to do what they came to do. He advanced upon them, forcing Töle Buqa and those children of Mengü Temür who were with him to dismount from their horses, so they did, then gave a sign to tie them, so they were.

He said to ʦaqtā,

This one overpowered the dominion of your father, and your dominion, and these sons of your father (would have) joined with him in taking you and killing you. I have given them to you, so you now kill them just as you would.

Their heads were wrapped (*kummira*), and broken at the time of their appearance, and they were Töle Buqa, Alghī, ʦughriljā, Mulghān, Qadān, Qutghān, sons of Mengü Temür.



**Mention of sending Najm al-Dīn Khidr and Badr al-Dīn Salāmish,  
the two sons of al-Malik al-Zāhir, to Constantinople**

**In it** the Sultan imagined [negative] thoughts about the two sons of al-Malik al-Zāhir, who were al-Malik al-Mas'ūd Najm al-Dīn Khidr [287] and al-Malik al-Ādil Badr al-Dīn Salāmish, so it occurred to him to exile them from the Islamic lands, and to expel them from the Egyptian homelands. Therefore, he expelled them, and their mother with them, sending them to Alexandria accompanied by the emir 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Mawṣilī, the sultan's majordomo.

They were made to travel on the salt sea [Mediterranean] to the city of Constantinople, so when they arrived in it, the Lascarid [Andronicus II] treated them well, and ordered them to be put up, giving them what they needed. As for Badr al-Dīn Salāmish, death overtook him so he died, and his mother took him, placing him in a casket (*tābūt*), until her return was confirmed. She then returned with him to the Egyptian homelands, and she buried him there according to what we will mention, if God wills.

**In it** a fellow named Thābit b. Mandīl, shaykh of the *maghrāwa* [Berbers], and its senior figure, manifested opposition (*nifāq*) against Yaghmurāsan son of 'Abd al-Wād, and departed from obeying them. They attacked him, and besieged him, so he fortified himself in the mountains of Tājhammat and Barshk.<sup>147</sup> Ibn Yaghmurāsan tightened the noose around him for seven consecutive years, so when he finally almost caught him, then he attacked Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb al-Marīnī in order to relieve the pressure, asking him for intercession, so he answered his request in a way which we will mention in its place.

**In it** Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Kakbāj, the retainer of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, died on 21 Sha'bān of it [August 19, 1291].

**In it** the judge Taqī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān son of the judge Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, son of the daughter of al-A'zz, was removed from the Chief Judiciary in the Egyptian homelands because of an anger in the heart of Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Sal'ūs the minister towards him. When the latter became powerful, and ruled, he removed him, punished him in an exemplary manner, and wanted to have him beaten.

He arranged for witnesses to give testimony against him, on charges that would necessitate beating, and appointed the judge Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Jamā'a al-Maqdisī to the judiciary in Cairo and Old Cairo (*miṣr*), and for the two directions, southerly and northerly.

During this year Badr al-Dīn Baktūt al-'Alā'ī led the pilgrimage from Egypt, while al-Ṭawāshī Badr al-Dīn al-Ṣawwābī led it from Syria. [288]

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<sup>147</sup> Barshk described by Ibn Khaldūn, *Riḥlat Ibn Khaldūn sharqan wa-gharban* (Abū Dhabī: Dār al-Suwaydī, 2003), pp. 75–6 as being one of the districts of Tilimsan in northern Morocco.



## Year 691 [1292]

**In it** the Sultan released the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn *al-silahdār* al-Manṣūrī from prison, and gave him the command of 100 horsemen. At the time when he was arrested some of his mamluks were snapped up [by others], who were Sayf al-Dīn Mangū Timur, and Shams al-Dīn Aqsunqur. Mangū Timur was returned to him, but Shams al-Dīn Aqsunqur al-Ḥusāmī asked to be left in the number of the royal mamluks. He achieved the rank of emir of a marching band, and obtained rank and dress.

**In it** when the period of the horse-foaling was completed, and the snows and floods had melted away from Syria, the Sultan departed from the Egyptian homelands during the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal [February Mar. 1292], and went to Damascus, paying the Egyptian and Syrian armies.

He then went from it to Aleppo, intending to go to Qalʿat al-Rūm, because of its inhabitants' aggression towards the Muslims and its harming those crossing the pass, and passing back and forth [across the border], which had reached him.

**Mention of the siege of Qalʿat al-Rūm and conquering  
it on 10 Rajab year 691 [June 27, 1292]**

**In it** the Sultan went from Aleppo to Qalʿat al-Rūm, which is among the most beautiful and strongest castles in both height and strength. It is impossible to approach it other than by a difficult ascending road, with many ascents and hills. A horseman cannot travel it without riding, because of its steepness and difficulty of approach.

The River Euphrates flows underneath it, and there is no campsite for those who would besiege it, other than right underneath it. So the armies camped up against it during the first tenth of Jumādā al-Ākhira [mid-May 1292], and it was overcrowded, the tents being set very close together. Orders were given to besiege, to cast rocks, to initiate mining, and to exert both bodies and hearts, so the mastery and power over it was gained, and the standards rose on its walls.

The emir ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Shujāʿī exerted himself very much there, and constructed an immense chain, hanging it close to the battlements of the castle, and its edge, to arrive at the lowest part of the retaining wall (*rabaḍ*). The army would grab hold of it, climb it, and so a large number of the armies managed to ascend it. Among them was one of the pages (*ushāqiyya*) of the emir Badr al-Dīn *amīr al-silāh* (armorer) named Aqjabā. He fought fiercely, and acquitted himself well, while the Sultan was watching him, and the army was egging him on.

An honorary prize (*tashrīf*) was commanded [289] for him and a command, but the *amīr silāh* asked whether the command could go to his son Muḥammad, so he was given an *iqṭāʿ* fief, and a marching band. These still are in his hands to this day.

Then the armies followed up this chain, so this particular stratagem was a means to an end. They then gained control over the castle, and the standards rose quickly. Any fighters found inside were killed, while the women and families were taken captive. The Catholicos of the Armenians was found in it, so he was taken prisoner. The Sultan ordered that the sign of al-Rūmiyya be erased from it, and that no one was to refer to it by that name, but it was to be named Qal' at al-Muslimīn al-Ashrafiyya.

He assigned the emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Shujā'ī to inhabit it, to fortify its castle, and to assign what would benefit it. He ordered that its retaining wall be destroyed, and for it to be removed from the area.

**The author says:** When we were in the midst of the siege's intensity, fighting, squeezing, and surrounding [the castle], from the eastern bank [of the Euphrates] a group of Tatars overlooked us, appearing suddenly between the mountains.

The Sultan commanded the dispatch of a number of troops, accompanied by one of the senior emirs to reconnaissance, to trail them, and to cut off supplies from the Tatars. Four of the commanders of 1000 were dispatched, and their auxiliaries. Among them were Badr al-Dīn Baktāsh, *amīr silāḥ*—and I was among his auxiliaries—the emir Rukn al-Dīn Ṭaqṣū al-Nāsirī, the emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Ḥalabī, and the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn *al-silaḥdār* al-Manṣūrī.

We went all together, riding roughly, crossing the Euphrates [River] at Samosata ford, so we went on the eastern bank most of the night and day, following the trail, but we did not find even one of the Tatars. So we returned at that time, presenting ourselves to the siege and the fighting, until Qal' at al-Rūm was conquered, and the Sultan achieved what he desired.

It was confirmed after the arrival of the emir Sayf al-Dīn Jankalī b. al-Bābā, one of the Tatar emirs, to the Egyptian homelands, who told me that he was in that raiding party, and that it was approximately 10,000 horsemen accompanied by a commander named Nītmish.<sup>148</sup> It was coming to seize an opportunity, and to try to take the Muslims by surprise.

The latter said, “When we saw the number and greatness of the armies, we were certain that there was no possible way for us to get to them, so we returned on our heels, and rode hard for our dwellings.”

Then the Sultan traveled to Aleppo, staying there for the rest of Rajab and Sha' bān [June and July 1292]. During those days a deadly sickness afflicted the camels, so most of them perished, until the pavilions reeked and the roads stunk. For most of the armies there was no way for them to carry their equipment, so they carried it upon their mules.

Shams al-Dīn Qarāsunqur was removed from it [290] and Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī was assigned as deputy in it, with `Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Mawṣilī as constructor (*mushayyad*) in it. He traveled from it to Damascus,

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<sup>148</sup> Could he be identical to the Bitmish of Text 1 (b).

then fasted the month of awesome Ramaḍān there, and celebrated ʿĪd al-Fiṭr (Festival of Fast-breaking).

**In it** on the night of the festival Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn al-Manṣūrī took fright, because he was mentally unstable, as if his heart was in a bird's clutches He rode from his dwelling, departing, fleeing that very night. He went towards a Bedouin tribe with whom he used to be in contact, but they hastily returned him to the Sultan.

He was brought, they seized him, bound him, and seized Rukn al-Dīn Ṭaqṣū because he was his in-law through his daughter. The cause for arresting Ṭaqṣū was that the Sultan, prior to his arrival in Damascus, had dispatched an army to al-Daniyyīn Mountain in Baʿlbak accompanied by the emir Badr al-Dīn Baydarā, and had dispatched another army from the opposite direction towards that mountain accompanied by the emir Rukn al-Dīn Ṭaqṣū.

Words were exchanged between the two of them, and Ṭaqṣū spoke against Baydarā, saying that he had accepted bribes from the inhabitants of the mountains. So his opinion of him changed, and when the Sultan arrested Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn, his in-law, he spoke about him, then seized him, and sent the both of them to the Hill Citadel, where they were imprisoned.

In Damascus the Sultan assigned the emir ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Ḥamawī al-Zāhirī as the sultan's deputy in Syria in place of the emir ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Shujāʿī, and returned to the Egyptian homelands. He brought in his company the emir Shams al-Dīn Qarāsunqur al-Manṣūrī, and made him commander over the royal mamluks.

**In it** the emir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭughrīl al-Ayghānī was assigned to be the deputy over the newly conquered lands and fortresses in place of the emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī, mandating his transfer to Aleppo. He stayed there for only a few days, and then asked to be relieved, so he was, and he was returned to the Egyptian homelands. The emir ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak *al-khazindār* was assigned to take his place in the fortresses, and he stayed until the days of Zayn al-Dīn Kitbughā, who removed him.

### **Mention of seizing the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar* and doing away with him**

**In it** when the Sultan returned to the Egyptian homelands, he seized the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar* [291] and hastened to do away with him, causing him to taste the cup of death. He seized the emir Sayf al-Dīn Jarmak al-Nāsirī, and did away with him, him, and Ṭaqṣū, the member of his coterie (*khūshdash*). The death of these three was at the same time. He intended to do away with Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn, but God saved him for ruling by a quirk of fate, and we will mention it, if God wills.

**In it** the judge Faṭḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad son of the judge Muḥyī al-Dīn son of ʿAbdallāh Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir, the chief of the Correspondence Chancellery, died, may God have mercy upon him, in Ramaḍān of it [August to September

1292] in the city of protected Damascus. He left children, among them the judge `Alā' al-Dīn `Alī, and the Sultan caused all the allowances (*jāmakīyya*), pension and rank in his father's name to pass to him, and confirmed him in the Correspondence Chancellery. He was not even 20 years old, but was accomplished in abilities and accomplishments inherited from father to son, which continue to be manifestly present in the family of `Abd al-Zāhir.

The Sultan minimized [the issue of] his age during these times, because of his undertaking the responsibilities of the Chancellery, and then appointed the judge Tāj al-Dīn Abū al-`Abbās Aḥmad son of Sharaf al-Dīn Sa`īd son of Shams al-Dīn Abū Ja`far Muḥammad Ibn al-Athīr al-Ḥalabī al-Tanūkhī to be chief of the noble Correspondence Chancellery, because he was among the notables and the senior members of the Chancellery.

This was because he grew up in Aleppo, and served in its Correspondence Chancellery during the al-Nāṣirī period. He was put in charge of the Chancellery after the death of Niẓām al-Dīn b. al-Mawlā, and stayed with al-Malik al-Nāṣir until what happened to him happened. Then he was transferred to the Egyptian homelands, and served in the Correspondence Chancellery during the Zāhirī period. He continued there until its end, the whole Maṣṣūrī period, and part of the Ashrafī period, when the judge Faṭḥ al-Dīn took his place, but only lasted a month or about a month, until death overtook him, and he was conveyed to God's mercy.

His death was during the middle tenth of Shawwāl of this year [end of September 1292], outside of Gaza, and he was buried there. His age was 71 years, and he was accomplished at figuring out conjectures (*muraḥḥam*), such that he could solve them in 11 [different] ways. His son the judge `Imād al-Dīn Abū al-Zāhir Ismā`īl b. Aḥmad took over after him, and he continued until the end of the year 692 [1293]. [292]

### Year 692 [1292–3]

**In it** the Sultan released the emir Badr al-Dīn Baysarā al-Shamsī from prison, after having been there for approximately 13 years. He gave him Munyat Banī Khuṣayb Darbsatā, and 100 horsemen, and took him as one of his boon-companions, and confidants. He was congenial with his playful antics and would laugh at his buffoonery. This continued until what we will describe happened.

### Mention of the Sultan proceeding to Upper Egypt to take pleasure and to hunt

**In it** the Sultan resolved to proceed to a southerly direction in order to hunt and to take pleasure. His minister the chief Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Sal'ūs went to prepare the honorary gifts and the accommodations with regard to the Bedouin, the governors, the notables, and those with business arrangements [tax-farmers?] (*dhuwī al-mu`āmalāt*).

He wrote to them to pay attention and to make the arrangements, and the emir Badr al-Dīn Baydarā stayed in the Citadel, while the Sultan departed, proceeding in a southerly direction. When the minister [Ibn Sal'ūs] discussed with the districts the levying of revenues and establishment of gifts—horses and camels—he found a number of cities that were protected by Baydarā current in his chancellery.

He [Baydarā] had many revenues, and produce, while at the same time ignoring sultanic matters and endowments of the chancellery business arrangements. He made excuses for the upkeep and moneys for which he was asked. Somehow he was unable to supply the horses and camels for which he was obligated. He found that his deputies were protecting [these ventures] in every direction, so he brought this to the Sultan's attention, so it changed his heart towards him.

Baydarā learned of this from his guard who were around the Sultan, so they provided reports in place of seeing things personally. He concealed spies around him [the Sultan], so when the Sultan obtained the pleasure and hunting he wanted, he arrived at Qūṣ, he then returned to his Citadel.

The emir Badr al-Dīn Baydarā had taken care of hosting him at the time of his return, and had pitched a tent of dark red satin with ropes of colored silk (*ibrīsm*), columns of decorated sandalwood, inlaid with silver, engraved with different types of engravings, adorned with the most expensive adornments, and covered in silk (*harīr*) hangings with outlandish pictures upon them at al-'Adawiyya. He gave him extensive hospitality in it, in order to counteract the whispering of Ibn Sal'ūs, if that were possible.

The Sultan rested in this tent for an hour, then rode to the Citadel, and did not demonstrate any cheer in accepting it, nor did he act well in it.

**In it** the Sultan proceeded on fast camels to Kerak, while the armies departed. He went along [293] the Badriyya road on the land side, while the armies went on the main road. He arrived at Kerak and Shawbak, where his deputy in it, the emir Jamāl al-Dīn was given seven towns of its districts.

Then he went to Damascus, where he met up with his armies, went to Ḥimṣ, and seized Muhannā b. 'Īsā b. Muhannā and his brothers, and returned to Cairo. He arrived there on 28 Rajab [July 4, 1293] after he had dispatched an army to stay in Ḥimṣ accompanied by three of the commanders, who were the emir Badr al-Dīn, *amīr silāh*, the emir Shams al-Dīn Kartiya and the emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Ḥalabī.

The author says: I was among those attached to the emir Badr al-Dīn, *amīr silāh*, and we stayed in Ḥimṣ for three months.

When the Sultan returned to the protected Citadel the emir Badr al-Dīn Baydarā requested the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn al-Manṣūrī be released from prison, so he assented, and released him. When he was brought before him, he said, "Know that Baydarā interceded on your behalf, so I give you to him, so

that you can be his mamluk.” He kissed the earth, and departed. Then he was given a command, and placed over 100 horsemen, but he hated what he had done to him.

### **Mention of the feast which had been arranged and the interest in playing *qabaq*<sup>149</sup>**

**In it** in the month of Dhū al-Hijja [November 1293] the Sultan commanded the armies to be prepared for inspection, to prepare provisions, and to beautify itself with both extra and necessary [preparations]. So they took care for the best possible provisions: cuirasses (*jawāshin*), padded garments (*qarqulāt*),<sup>150</sup> helmets (*khūd*), horse-armor (*barak-ustawānāt*),<sup>151</sup> quivers (*tarākīsh*), kettle-drums and other types of splendid provisions.

The push for this came from the noble woman, the Khātūn, wife of al-Ashraf, who was pregnant, and close to being due. Then, he busied himself with this as the date of birth came close, in the hope that the new-born would be male, who would carry on his name, “open his breast,” and complete his legacy.

This busying was in hope of a boy, so the armies beautified themselves. Never had its like been seen previously, and they went all out in the magnificent decoration, embellishment and beautification of the provisions, and spent so much that the price of a cuirass which should have cost 100 dirhams became 1000 dirhams and beyond.

On Tuesday of the game, gale-force winds blew, and kicked up so much dust that it filled all the roads, so the day became as night, and no one was able to distinguish a man from a horse. [294] He had already ordered to bring the food, to have many types, preparing *qumis* [fermented mare’s milk], fruits, and different types of sweets.

In any case, the newborn was a girl, so what he desired was not completed, nor was there further interest developed [in playing].

### **Mention of the attack of Ṭuqtā upon those emirs who will be mentioned**

**In it** Nogai sent his wife Bīliq Khātūn to the king Ṭuqtā with a missive she would carry to him, and advice she would give to him. When she arrived at the [Golden] Horde he greeted her with honor, and celebrated hospitality and gifts with her, and she stayed in the hospitality for days.

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<sup>149</sup> “Turkish gourd shooting in origin, where a single blunt arrow is shot upwards at a target on an 8m high pole,” see Li Guo, *Sports as Performance: The Qabaq-game and Celebratory Rites in Mamluk Cairo* (Berlin: EB Verlag, 2013), pp. 8, 11 (from Ashraf’s time); and note the description given by Symon, *Itinerarium*, p. 77 of a game in Cairo.

<sup>150</sup> Worn either over or under mail, see Nicholle, glossary, s.v.

<sup>151</sup> Nicolle, glossary, s.v.

Then he asked her as to the reason for her coming, so she said to him, “Your father says to you that there are some thorns left on your path, so clean them up!” He said, “What are the thorns?” so she named off the emirs who Nogai had mentioned to her, who were:

Kultkāy, Yuqaq, Qarākayūk, Mājār, Bārīn Ṭuqtā, Kubay, Būkū, Ṭarātimur, Altimur, Tukā, Bay Ṭarā, Bīmlik Timur, Bay Ṭuqtimur, Bayghūr Aqtājī, Bārūh, Maljakā, Burlaghā, Kabjak, Sūdaq, Qarājīn, Khājzī, Abshaqā, and Baybakhī. These were those who had conspired with Töle Buqa against Nogai.

When this missive was conveyed to him, and she told him this story, he sought after those emirs, one after another, and killed all of them. So Bīliq Khātūn returned to Nogai, informing him of their killing, so his worry subsided, and his fear gone. He ruled his children, and the children of his children. Among his children, he had three males, who were Jakā and Takā, who were from one mother, and Ṭarāy, from another mother, a daughter named Ṭughljā, and son of a daughter named Aqtājī. This daughter was married to a fellow named Ṭāz son of Manjak.

They grew in power, and the awe of them and their long reach was overpowering.

**In it** the judge Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir, noble confidential secretary, died. He had extraordinary epistles, delicate poems, and *The Zāhirī History*, in which he contrived both prose and poetry, [295] in addition to other works. We have cited selections from his poetry in this *History*, and some of his impressive memoranda.

### **Year 693 [1293–4] Mention of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf proceeding to hunt, and his killing on 13 Muḥarram of it [December 14, 1293]**

**In it** during the first part of Muḥarram the Sultan prepared for hunting, crossing over to the dry land of Giza, intending to proceed to Alexandria, and al-Ḥamāmāt al-Gharbiyya. His minister, the chief Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Sal`ūs came to him in the protected border port to prepare the fabrics and to gather different types of goods, to extract money, and to assign positions before he went to ride.

He found the deputies of the emir Badr al-Dīn Baydarā in the border port having already taken over the merchants' goods, and stored away what was not part of the sultanic revenues or part of the treasury. He renewed the discussions with the Sultan concerning this by correspondence, and affirmed what was revealed to him by speech.

He sent to him, informing him that he did not find the moneys and revenues that should have been in the border port after the usual outlays. The Sultan



seethed with anger against Baydarā, and summoned him into the presence of the personal guards (*khāṣakiyya*) and the emirs, speaking to him in crude terms, stinging him with heat of curses, insults, and condemnation, promising him the worst, and threatening him with the clearest threats, until he [Baydarā] feared that he would assault him that very moment or reach out his hand to harm him.

So he [Baydarā] spoke gently and extricated himself from the situation, so that he could leave from before him. Then mustered his close coterie, informing them of the loathing inside the Sultan. These were the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn al-Manṣūrī, who had in his heart humiliation which had gotten to him, and misfortune that had afflicted him, the emir Shams al-Dīn Qarāsunqur, who was present because of his removal from the Aleppan realms, and his being brought to the Egyptian homelands without anything, and emirs other than the two of them who were informed about his secret.

Every single one of them were disgruntled because of their being held back, while junior members of the personal guards (*khāṣakiyya*) were being promoted. When Baydarā gathered them together, they discussed different possibilities, then agreed to fall upon the Sultan before he fell upon them, and to attack him before he attacked them.

When the minister appraised him of the paucity of revenues in the border port, the emirs were given permission to proceed, each one of them, to their *iqṭā`* fief, [296] as well as the commanders and the *maḥārida*. None were left other than the elite mamluks, but he had commanded most of them to proceed to the citadel fearing how many there were.

They rode proceeding forward, and some of the emirs proceeded, going towards their *iqṭā`* fiefs, while some of them were intending to do that. During all of this the Sultan rode leading a small group of his elite [mamluks] to hunt near the royal tent. At that time he was camped at Tarūja, so Baydarā and those emirs with him were informed that he had rode almost alone.

So they said, "This is the time to seize the opportunity," so they fastened their quivers (*tarākīsh*), and rode towards him. They were Badr al-Dīn Baydarā, Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn, Shams al-Dīn Qarāsunqur, Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur, the head of the guard, Shams al-Dīn Aqsunqur al-Ḥusāmī, Sayf al-Dīn Nogai, Muḥammad Khawājā, Ṭuruntāy *al-sāqī* (cup-bearer), Altınbughā, the head of the guard, and others joined them.

Below the Sultan was a ford, so they forded it. When they approached him as a single group, he knew there was something wrong, and he saw the sign of treachery, so they hastened to him without speaking, and (then) hastened him with words, lifting swords up against him. It was said that Baydarā was the first to strike, while Lājīn gave the killing blow to him



secondly.<sup>152</sup> They left him quickly, dripping blackish blood. In Tarūja there was a governor `Izz al-Dīn Aydimur al-Fakhrī, who carried the Sultan on a camel from the place in which he was killed to the river/sea plain, and then carried to the city, and buried in his mausoleum. The period of his reign was three years and two months.

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<sup>152</sup> Baybars again demonstrates his disdain for the assassins, as he leaves off calling them “emirs” while listing them, and then just calls them by their given names when describing the deed.

## Text 4 (b)

### *AL-TUḤFA AL-MULŪKIYYA FĪ AL-DAWLA AL-TURKIYYA*

### THE BOOK OF THE ROYAL PRIZED- POSSESSION CONCERNING THE TURKISH DYNASTY

*In contradistinction to text 4 (a), text 4 (b) focuses upon the Mamluk dynasty rather than yearly events. For each year a major event connected with the ruler is picked out, and is the subject of the discourse. The language is mostly simple, in contrast to Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir or even to Baybars' Zubda, but every once in a while there are literary flourishes or rhymed sentences. As in the Zubda or the Mukhtār, there are a number of personal notes and stories that add to the text's flavor, and virtually no documents cited. Baybars demonstrates his loyalty to Qalāwūn by declining to accord Sunqur al-ashqar the title of "emir" in contradistinction even to the more sycophantic Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir.*

**Mention of the sultanate of the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Abū al-Mulūk Sword of this World and the Religion, Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī al-Makhdūm (made into a servant), may God envelope him in favor, cause him to dwell in paradise, recompense him for the good he did for us, and make the foundations of his house [family] firm, strengthening the supports of his aid and building them up**

This was in the year 678 on Sunday, 22 Rajab [November 29, 1279].

The author says: When the emirs begged him, and the greats interceded with him that he would take the leadership personally in order to make hearts tranquil, and to cause fame to spread far and near, he bowed to their wishes, and submitted to what they insisted when it was apparent that was the majority opinion.

Then he sat upon the royal pulpit and throne, and began to rule and administer [the realm]. His name was mentioned from the pulpits at the previously mentioned time, and he took the royal title of al-Malik al-Manṣūr. He wrote letters to the horizons concerning the renewal of his dominion, and the ordering of the Islamic realms under his guidance.

Proclamations were made in every place, and everyone submitted. His name was mentioned on the pulpits, and the congratulation of both desert-dweller and townspeople was general. Coins were graced with the imprint of his name, while the fringes of flags and garments were embroidered with the number of his written orders. People would use his sultanate to bear witness, and be marked with his mark.

Al-Zāhir was decisive in the command going to him, as a result of their close relationship and in-lawship. The righteous shaykh `Alī al-Bakkā' (the weeper) proclaimed his sultanate, just as we mentioned. Then after this, one of his retinue saw a dream as if a caller (*hātif*) said to him: "This Qalāwūn will defeat Hulagū(n)!" When this was told during his rule, he said, "A jumble of dreams."<sup>1</sup> This issue was written, and the dream made public, so the story of the dream became common talk among the people.

Someone composed a poem about it, alluding to it, which was:

*A king, as if the sea was the generosity of his right hand, and as if the sun's  
light was the radiance of his brow,  
Royal processions and moving planets glow always, this and that [...] and  
his fortresses, [92]  
How many graces there were for the populace in his empowerment, and  
attention for the freeborn troops in his appointment!  
How the fates said: This is the conqueror of cities—may God increase his  
empowerment!  
This Qalāwūn—the house of Hūlegū, both its inhabitants and its  
tranquility—will be annihilated by him!*

His reign began with good things, and the removal of disasters. Among the things he removed, nullified, had clemency for, and set aside was the charity-tax for the state, which was collected from the estate owners, severely harming them. He would reassure the testators over the merchants, and did well by his close retinue (*khūshdāshiyya*), his mamluks, and his court retinue, and indeed everyone who was in his service. He raised their ranks to appropriate levels, and all near and far benefited from his largesse.

He freed the emir `Izz al-Dīn *al-afraḡ* and assigned him to be his deputy in Egypt, so he stayed near for a time, then sought clemency, and it was granted

<sup>1</sup> Citing Pharaoh's dream-interpreters in Q12:44.

<sup>2</sup> Blank in the manuscript.

him. Then he assigned Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy to be his deputy. He was the senior (*ustādh dār*) of the emirs, and the majordomo of his house.

When the news of his sitting as sultan reached Sunqur *al-ashqar* it occurred to him that he could be independent in Syria. Therefore, he manifested that publicly, and rode with the sultan's insignia, calling himself al-Malik al-Kāmil, and sending to the deputies in the various fortresses seeking for them to submit them to him. There were those who did, and those who did not. The emirs with him put out the news that an updated report had arrived saying that the sultan had died, and that he [Qalāwūn] had usurped it for himself.

News of these matters reached the sultan, so he wrote him, asking him to repent, to cease and desist, and to reconcile, while he was in Egypt, waiting, saying with the situation's tongue: "you are in one valley, I am in another." Following this, al-Malik al-Sa'īd sent a group of mamluks who were with him to take over al-Shawbak for him. This reached the Sultan, so he disapproved of this aggression, and then sent to him "Do not do it."

However, he did not incline to this statement, nor make use of it, so he took it, and appointed a deputy in it. Al-Malik al-Sa'īd's death happened just a short time afterwards. He was jousting in the field, but was thrown from his purebred horse's back, took a fever for some few days, then died. He was transported after that to Damascus, then buried in the mausoleum of his father, and his brother Najm al-Dīn Khidr took his place in Kerak, and took the title of al-Mas'ūd. [93]

**Year 679 [1280–1] began** as the Sultan was corresponding with Sunqur *al-ashqar* in friendliness, desiring [him to reconcile], and that he would bestow of his bounty in the most generous manner if he came back to the fold. He was serious in these matters, energetic in thinking about ways to purify Syria, and its castles, and to liberate its districts and valleys.

The Sultan dispatched the emir 'Izz al-Dīn *al-afra*m on some of his missions, but Sunqur *al-ashqar* became aware of him, and so he mustered, gathered, and produced an army from Damascus to meet him. *Al-Afra*m returned to Gaza, because he could not face the latter, as he did not have the numbers equal to the task.

The emir Badr al-Dīn al-Aydimurī reached him while he was in it, and when the two joined forces, Sunqur *al-ashqar*'s vanguard accompanied by Qarāsunqur al-Mu'izzī came, and the two [forces] met in battle at Gaza. The Syrian army was defeated, and hastily retreated, while a number of them were taken prisoner, and brought to the Sultan, who treated them well, bestowed robes of honor upon them, and did not offer violence to any of them.

Then Sunqur *al-ashqar* marshalled the garrisons, and tried to prepare, showing off the number he had gathered, while chastising them with the stick and betraying them. He departed from Damascus, and the Sultan dispatched the emir 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Ḥalabī to him, as he was among his contemporaries (*adrāb*). He was an expert in sieges and knew them well, so the two met in battle on al-Jasūra.

The fighting was fierce between the two armies, and the champions met each other, so al-Ḥalabī charged at Sunqur *al-ashqar* in a way that caused the latter to turn aside, and made terror take over his mind. So he turned, going for the Raḥba road. With him were ʿĪsā b. Muḥannā, but because of the defeat they could not stay together.

This battle was in Ṣafar year 679 [June 1280]. Al-Ḥalabī camped up against Damascus, and appointed the emir ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kushtghadī al-Shamsī to [command] its citadel. The Sultan had already sent Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn, [94] his mamluk, to it, and assigned him there. Sunqur *al-ashqar* had arrested him, and imprisoned him, together with the emir Rukn al-Dīn *al-jāliq*, so al-Ḥalabī released the both of them, and wrote to the Sultan about these new developments.

The Sultan ordered the appointment of the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn al-Manṣūrī to the position of deputy Sultan in Syria, so he was assigned in Damascus from those days. When al-Ḥalabī returned to Egypt accompanied by those emirs who had been present with Sunqur *al-ashqar*, who had been taken prisoner, he [the Sultan] forgave all of them, removing their disquiet, giving them marked horses, emblazoned robes, and gold straps [for horses].

All of them were returned to his good opinion, continuing on in their emirship. What self-control (*ḥilm*) which realized the word of the poet:

*Your self-control is self-control that no one can pretend to, just as the antimony in the eyes is not like that (in a bottle).*

Sunqur *al-ashqar* took refuge in Ṣahyūn, as it was the closest of all of his fortresses, and then the death of Aleppo's deputy, Jamāl al-Dīn Aqūsh al-Shamsī occurred. The Sultan sent the emir ʿAlam al-Dīn Sunqur al-Bāshqirdī to it, and assigned Sayf al-Dīn Qajqār al-Manṣūrī to the citadel of Damascus, then transferred him away from it.

The Sultan dispatched the emir ʿIzz al-Dīn *al-afram* to Shayzar, so he besieged it. Inside of it there was ʿIzz al-Dīn Kurjī al-Zāhirī, who had made an agreement with Sunqur *al-ashqar*, was trusted by him, and obeyed him. While he was in the process of besieging it, reports came of the Tatars' movements, and that they had divided into three hordes: one going to [Seljuq] Rūm, accompanied by Ṣamghār, Yanhī and Ṭarīhī, one from the east, accompanied by Baydu son of Ṭurghāy brother of Abagha son of Hūlegū—among which was the ruler of Mārdīn and Amad—and a third one accompanied by Mengū Temūr son of Hūlegū, which contained the majority of their armies and most of their nobles.

Reports were confirmed that they had come close to the lands of the [Seljuq] Rūm, and that the ruler of Sīs had gone out to them using the al-Darbsāk road, so the Sultan resolved to travel to Syria, and thought about Sunqur *al-ashqar* continuing to be separate and lacking in leadership.

If he made a move against them, then they would be very bad helpers against the Muslims, [95] so he corresponded with him, speaking to him gently, remonstrating with him, threatening him, giving him the carrot and the stick, reminding him of their coterie and companionship. He promised him fair promises if he desired closeness. So he inclined towards that, answered favorably, and demonstrated that he had repented.

When the Sultan determined upon traveling with the armies, he formally appointed his son al-Malik al-Şāliḥ as his heir-apparent, and had him ride with the sultanic insignia through the city, and then ascended to the Citadel. His formal appointment was read out in the hall (*iwān*).

The Sultan departed, after having gathered the armies, and summoned every one of the fighters (*mujāhidīn*). He arrived at Gaza, and camped there, to take stock of the reports, and to verify the Tatars' situation.

As for them, they had come to `Ayntāb, Baghrās and al-Darbsāk, and then approached Aleppo, which was empty of troops and subjects, as the army had departed from it. Its people had fled pell-mell from it in fear of the Tatars, so they rampaged through it, destroying its environs, burning the major mosques and the mosques, and generally vandalizing.

When the Sultan's departure to Syria, together with those Islamic armies that had reinforced him, reached them they returned to their winter quarters, for the winter had afflicted them. When their raids against the lands reached the Sultan, and their forcing [God's] servants to leave their homes, he returned to the Egyptian homelands, but dispatched an army, accompanied by the emir Badr al-Dīn Baktāsh al-Najmī, and another army to the coast, accompanied by the emir `Alā' al-Dīn Aydakīn *al-bunduqdār* to guard against the Franks.

At his return to the Egyptian homelands those emirs with Sunqur *al-ashqar* began to slip away because the situation became too critical for them, and because the Sultan treated them well. The inhabitants of Marqab took the opportunity, and attempted some vandalism, and harm of those country-folk who were adjacent to them.

The emir Sayf al-Dīn al-Ṭabbākhī, deputy sultan, was then at Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, so he wrote to the Sultan asking permission to attack them, to fall upon them, and to humiliate them a bit, so the Sultan gave permission to besiege them. He gathered the garrison troops and the Turkman emirs, both provisions and men, and went to them, advancing until they stood under the fortress.

Its people refrained from firing at them, and concealed themselves in safety, so the army greatly desired to go after them, and came near to them. When they had come close enough that arrows would reach them, not very far, then they let loose against them all in one fell swoop. They [the Muslims] were hit badly from being wounded, so were anxious, and necessity compelled them to [96] disperse.

Al-Ṭabbākhī turned back to place the vanguard (*aṭlāb*) in a position where the archers would not be able to reach them, so when he twisted his bridle,

and twisted his horse's reins, those with him thought that it meant defeat, so they fled, without anyone looking out for the other.

The inhabitants of Marqab saw this before them, so they opened their gates, and both knight and foot issued forth, pursuing army stragglers, catching them, and plundering what they could. Al-Ṭabbākhī was separated from them, so could do nothing. The report came to the Sultan, so he disapproved and it was a major issue for him.

The Sultan returned to Syria to repair these breaches. When he camped up against al-Rawḥā', Frankish envoys came to him, asking for a truce, and they persisted in that until the peace was affirmed on the condition that the Muslims prisoners they had would be returned. The emir Fakhr al-Dīn al-Muqrī went to them to take their oaths, and the commander of the Hospitallers' House swore to those [conditions]. [97]

**Year 680 [1281–2] began** During it, [news] reached the Sultan, while he was besieging al-Rawḥā', that Sayf al-Dīn Kūndak *al-sāqī* (the cupbearer) and a number of the Zāhiriyya [regiment] had resolved to betray him, and had conspired to assassinate him. They would ride at night, and come to the royal tent. When they approached it, they would cut the tent-pegs and attack the entrances. If they got what they were intending [then good], but if not, then they would ride furiously, going towards Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar*.

The Sultan sent those who would guard the roads, and assigned guards around the royal tent who would protect it, and rode from al-Rawḥā' to al-Lajjūn, while reports came to him that they had gotten under his skin with this matter, and his knowledge of their plot, so he feared that they would withdraw, and not be caught when they were sought.

He went to Ḥamrā' Baysan, calling them to this campsite, and when they materialized before him, he remonstrated with them, threatening them, ordering them to have hands laid upon them, and sent, so those of their fellows and supporters in the camp were arrested, and God's judgment was carried out on them. They were: Kūndak *al-sāqī*, Aydghamish al-Ḥakīmī, Baybars al-Rashīdī and Sāṭalmish al-Zāhirī. The rest of the arrested were imprisoned in Safed castle.

In it, the emir Sayf al-Dīn Aytamish al-Sa`dī, the emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Hārūnī, the emir Sayf al-Dīn Kirāy al-Tatarī, and a number of their fellows, proceeded to Ṣahyūn, and joined Sunqur *al-ashqar*, so the Sultan dispatched an army to search for them accompanied by the emir Badr al-Dīn Baktāsh al-Fakhrī, *amīr silāḥ* (armorer), but he did not catch up with them.

The Sultan arrived at Damascus, then entered it, which was the first time he had entered it as Sultan, so the city was decorated in the most beautiful manner. He spent on the army, and by his good treatment caused people's hearts to tend towards him. He sent to Sunqur *al-ashqar* asking him to hand over [98] Shayzar, because it had remained in his hands together with other fortresses which were obedient to him at that time. Those were Barzāy, Balāṭīnus, al-Shughr, Bakās and `Akkār.

He acquiesced to handing over Shayzar, and it was agreed that he would maintain 600 horsemen over these lands for sacral warfare (*jihād*). Agreement was reached on this, and he swore to it. The text of his oath was sent accompanied by the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Dawādārī, so the Sultan swore to it as well, and wrote an official appointment that was described as an emirship. The agreement was arranged, and the causes for division were removed. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Muqrī and Shams al-Dīn Qarāsunqur *al-jūkandār* (batman) al-Manšūrī brought him his appointment and the oath.

In it also the agreement with Mas`ūd Khidr son of al-Malik al-Zāhir was established, establishing him in Kerak and its districts, allowing him to have [the territory] from al-Hasā' to al-Mawjib. He ordered to send those members of his harem and children who were in Cairo to them, and to return all of the Zāhirī properties to them, so it was carried out in correspondence like that of the ruler of Ḥamāh.

In it reports were confirmed about the Tatars' movement, and that Mengü Temür had entered [Seljuq] Rūm leading their armies and hordes. So the Sultan scattered the watchers, sent out scouts, and placed reconnaissance on the lookout. They found a number of Tatars in the Hūtī waste,<sup>3</sup> which is close to al-Iblastayn, so they took them captive. Among them was Abagha's shield-bearer (*amīr akhur*), by the name of Julnār.

He was headed to scout out pasturage and fields, so he was brought to the Sultan, who questioned him about the people, so he informed them that they were truly headed towards Syria, had gathered a huge number, and that they were 80,000, riding during the first part of the month of Rajab [November 1281]. The Sultan heard his words, and ordered him to be taken to the Egyptian homelands and imprisoned there.

The report of their migration from their camping area to Šārūs, and from it to Iblastayn strengthened, and they entered [99] al-Darband, going towards al-Huwaynī.<sup>4</sup> One detachment of them headed towards al-Raḥba accompanied by Abagha and the ruler of Mārdīn.

So the Sultan departed from Damascus, after having gathered armies from every place, and horsemen from the furthest realms and the nearest lands. The vanguard (*muqaddamat*) advanced before him to these directions, and the emir Sayf al-Dīn Qushtimur al-`Ajamī was in charge of Ḥimṣ, while the emir Sayf [sic] Baktimur al-Ghutamī was in charge of Aleppo.

The report that the detachment coming from the direction of [Seljuq] Rūm had camped at Mar`ash arrived, and then advanced to Šūr Ḥārim, so the Sultan's royal tent advanced and went until it camped at Ḥimṣ. The Tatars had slaughtered wantonly through the lands, vandalizing properties and farms. His envoys had repeatedly gone to Sunqur *al-ashqar*, inciting him because

<sup>3</sup> In text 4 (a) Hūnī waste.

<sup>4</sup> In text 4 (a) al-Hawīnā, which may be the same as the Hūnī/Hūtī waste listed.



of Islam, only to hear him speak the most painful reproaches about his dilatoriness in rendering aid.

Finally he submitted after many negotiations to being present at the line [of battle] but when it was finished he would return to his place at his own time. He sent the emir Sayf [sic] Baktimur *al-sāqī* al-ʿAzīzī and Badr al-Dīn Baktāsh al-Fakhrī to the Sultan, so they made the agreement, and assigned this assignment with him.

He descended [from Şahyūn] to al-Jawaş close by Abū Qubays, and those emirs who were with him presented themselves at the service of the Sultan. He greeted them with gladness and treated them with honor, so the Muslims were happy with their presence because of the unity of their ranks, and that the community was not divided.

When the report arrived of Mengü Temür's camping at Ḥamāh, the red royal tent announced that war was imminent, and on the night of Thursday 14 Rajab [October 29, 1281] they traveled from Ḥamāh and arranged their army for battle. The Sultan arranged the right flank, the left flank, the wing, and the center. The battle-arrangement (*taṭīb*) was according to what we will describe.

In the right flank was al-Malik al-Manşūr, the ruler of Ḥamāh, and his army, the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn al-Manşūrī, the deputy of Damascus, and the Syrian army, the emir Badr al-Dīn Baysarī (=Baysarā), the emir ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aydakīn *al-bunduqdār*, the emir ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Tīburs al-Wazīrī, the emir ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak *al-afram*, *amir jāndār* (guard), al-Şālihī, and the emir ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kushtghadī al-Shamsī. [Also] the emirs of the marching bands, those of tens, the commanders of the freeborn troops (*halqa*), and their men, and the Bedouin in the vanguard of the right flank, who were Shams al-Dīn ʿIsā b. Muhannā, the Āl Faḍl, and the Āl Murrā.

In the left flank were the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar*,<sup>5</sup> the emir [100] Sayf al-Dīn Aytimish al-Saʿdī, the emir Badr al-Dīn Bīlīk al-Aydimurī, the emir Badr al-Dīn Baktāsh al-Fakhrī, *amir al-silāh*, the emir ʿAlam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Ḥalabī, the emir Sayf al-Dīn Bajkā al-ʿAlāʾī, emir Badr al-Dīn Baktūt al-ʿAlāʾī, and others of the emirs, and the Turkmen in the vanguard of the left flank and the army of Ḥişn al-Akrād.

In the vanguard of the center, the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, the deputy Sultan, the emir Rukn al-Dīn Ayājī, the chamberlain, the emir Badr al-Dīn Baktāsh son of Karmūn, the royal mamluks, emirs and the *mafārīda*. The Sultan was under the standards, with a steadfast purpose and an unwavering heart.

The Tatars came in waves, and their swell was wave after wave. The two sides met at the Ḥimş Depression, close to the shrine of Khālid b. al-Walīd at

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<sup>5</sup> As Sunqur *al-ashqar* is now fighting on the Muslims' side, Baybars gives him his title for the first time.

the 4th hour of Thursday day, on the date mentioned. The enemy's left flank crashed into the Islamic right flank, but it held against their collision, and endured their attack.

Then they formed into small squads (*takardasat*) against it, squeezing the area beside it, and rushed at the center. However, they did not manage to get anything from this attack, as they found it [the flank] strong, steady. Therefore, they wheeled all of them against the left flank, which fell back defeated, following it until they reached the tents. There they fell upon the camp followers and common people, causing a number of them to perish, and leaving them scattered.

The Muslims' right flank took a victorious revenge upon the unbelieving left flank, just as they had done with the [Muslims'] left, and worse, and tightened very much upon them. Neither on the two sides knew what was happening with the other.

As for the Tatars' right flank, when it arrived at the Field of Ḥimṣ pursuing the [Muslims'] left, they were calm, set up tents, and ate food. Those defeated from the army arrived in Damascus, so when they entered it, the report flashed around about the defeat. While those Tatars were expecting the arrival of their fellows, thinking that they were victorious, all of a sudden the report arrived to them that they had actually been defeated. Then they rode immediately, hastily, and turned away, with their world upside down.

All of this, while the Sultan was standing in his place, without moving, firm in his position, without being perturbed in the slightest. So when the Tatar left flank passed by him, returning to catch the tails of the defeated ones, urging on the flagging stragglers, he ordered the standards to be furled, for the flags (*bayāriq*) to be rolled up, for the drums to be quieted, and the ceasing of the marching-bands—stopping, signaling, and training for war and guarding.

They passed him by, then turned [101] going in the direction of al-Rastan, trying to catch up to their fellows. They had no one but themselves if they had had to defend themselves. He declaimed a poem concerning that:

[*Poetry previously translated.*]

The narrator said: We continued to pursue them to mix cups of death for them to drink the entire day, altogether. The armies killed thousands and thousands of them, shedding their blood until the swords were broken, and the defeat became real to them, while the truth of victory remained [for us]. Different short missives (*baṭā'iq*) were written, which the collared birds of good fortune carried. The defeated [Mamluks] returned slowed, the stragglers reassembled, and by this everyone was pleased, hopes and conjectures were verified, and the fighters at that point rejoiced, the Muslims were victorious, the patient ones succeeded, and those who waited patiently received praise and high rank.

The emirs, the commanders, the armies and the fighters (*mujahidin*) passed through the test well, gaining the bountiful prize, taking (spiritual) rewards for themselves, and so they received the plentiful prize, the thanks for their efforts, with the felicity of their Sultan al-Manṣūr (the victorious), and the decision of the issue which God had given them.

Search parties went out in the wake of the Tatars, but only a few remained in all the quarters. Double the number of stragglers were killed than those who were killed during the actual fighting. When the Sultan knew for certain that they had been totally uprooted, annihilated, and that they had no further power or abettor, he returned to the battlefield, to his tent.

He then viewed the slain, the ruffians, the slave-boys (*ghilmān*), the camp-followers, laid out *en masse*, as if they were sleeping, without drowsiness, so then he knew the value of what God had accomplished through him and the Muslims as a whole.

He verified the totality of grace and providence towards him and them, that the enemy came in their numbers without being able to bring aid, nor even desiring its return, so it was almost possible—may God forbid—that they could have taken over, and that their harm could have taken root. God surrounded the Muslims with His grace, and provided the Islamic armies with His aid and relief, helping them with His noble angels, and raising the flag of Islam, humiliating His enemies, with compulsion and vengeance. [102]

This glorious victory, which the days had not witnessed its like, was inscribed in the pages of our master the Sultan. What was foretold in the dream,<sup>6</sup> that the armies of Hūlegū(n) [sic] would drink the bitterness of death from the army of Qalāwūn [came to fruition]. The post began to race with the likes of these announcements, and the congratulations sounded and spread to every forbiddener and enjoyer, dweller or traveler.

The Sultan returned to Damascus, while the [captive] Tatars were herded in shackles, carrying bows, standards they had, and drums. Sunqur *al-ashqar* returned to Ṣahyūn, but the emirs who had been with him continued in the sultanic service. By this awe-inspiring victory stories were made, and epic poems were composed. Among them were what was said in these lines:

[*Poetry previously translated.*] [103]

Then the Sultan entered protected Damascus, staying there for days, then going to the Egyptian homelands. When he arrived in protected Cairo, the streets were decorated with different types of decoration. The center of the city was divided, with the Tatar prisoners driven before the processions, some of them walking, others riding. Their standards were upside down in their hands, and their drums were on their shoulders inside out, while piles of their slain were being carried.

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<sup>6</sup> At the beginning of the selection.

The [Mongol] emirs had their hands and necks chained, while the sultanic flags were unfurled, and the monotheistic (*hanīf*) populace's hearts were happy. Time was in its best position, and this world, to the extent God would permit, was merrily rejoicing.

His arrival in protected Cairo was on Saturday 22 Sha`bān year 680 [December 6, 1281]. Then the arrival of the Yemeni envoy from al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Shams al-Dīn b. Rasūl, accompanied by valuable gifts, to the sultanic gates occurred. Mounts were ordered for them so that they could witness the magnificent procession, and see with their own eyes the splendor of that time, which was springtime. So they saw it with their own eyes, and were amazed, witnessing a unique event.

The Sultan ascended to his Citadel, then sat in the royal hall (*iwān*), and the Yemeni presents were presented before him. He gifted those he willed upon the emirs, high-ups, and notables, then his entertainers sang with lines composed by Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Fāriqānī, who was a Turkish emir, so they are, even if they fall short a bit in their poetic creation, and are lacking in the finest words, are still nice, and pleasant to relate. These are:

[*Poetry previously translated.*] [104]

Just as in this epic poem with the following lines:

[*Poetry previously translated.*] [105]

When the Sultan had been pleased by this continuous felicity, and had gathered the fruits of these ripened stems, he assembled his emirs, the senior leaders, and the commanders of the armies in a sitting, which was for the purpose of comradeship and diversion, prepared for pleasure and openness.

They sat, drinking, so the *qumīz* (fermented milk), flagons, and cups (*akwāb*) were passed around. Among those who were present were the emir Badr al-Dīn Baktūt Bajkā [...] who was among those who conspired with Sunqur *al-ashqar* when he departed, and took the honorific of al-Kāmil. Among them also was the emir Badr al-Dīn Baktāsh al-Najmī, who was at that time the *amīr jandār*.

When they were a little drunk, they began to engage in horse-play and silliness which can occur in a sitting like this. Baktāsh al-Najmī went up to Bajkā, grabbed him by the hand, and said to the Sultan, "Lord! (*khvand*) This guy has repeatedly deserved death, but you keep on forgiving him, without demanding justice from him." So the Sultan asked which faults had he committed, and what crimes were in his past?

Baktāsh al-Najmī said to him,

In the land of the Turks, he was a royal mamluk, but when the fates joined the two of you under `Alā' al-Dīn Aqsunqur *al-sāqī* (cup-bearer), he gave him to you! When the sultanate came to you, you made him an emir in Damascus, but he went with Sunqur *al-ashqar*, followed him, obeyed him and served him. This is the fault for which he deserves death, and not (just) a beating.

The emirs said, “Yes! He deserves death and it is necessary.” All of them joined in, leaping up, stripping his embroidered garment (*qumāsh*) from him, leaving him naked. The Sultan drew his sword, which had been sheathed, so the emirs stood, interceding for him, as he was being held among the group.

The Sultan said, “We have clemency for him today!” so he rose after they had let him go, and said, “Lord! I am but one dog, so all of these dogs have gathered against me. I am unable to repel their evil!” So they laughed at his words [106] and the Sultan bestowed robes upon him, and all of them, giving them vast allowances. That day passed in pleasure and happiness, cheer and relief, an assembly that furthered hopes, and a mixture that satisfied the breasts.

In it the Franks of the coast sent asking a truce for a specified period, so the Sultan answered positively to that, and established the truce with their various groups. Two documents were drawn up for them, one for the Hospitallers’ House, and all the brethren, while the other was for the ruler of Tripoli for a period of ten years, ten months, ten days, and ten hours.

In it, Mengū Temūr son of Hūlegū perished after he returned defeated from the Battle of Ḥimṣ. His death was in al-Jazīra, so he was carried to Tilā, and then buried in it. [107]

**Year 681 [1282–3]** In it the Sultan dispatched an army to raid the [regions] adjacent to the Euphrates [River], and it came close to the lands of Sinjār [mountains], then returned safely, but brought the police chief of al-Jazīra, and his two sons as captives. He dispatched another army from Aleppo, so they came close to Bulghar above Mandas, returning between the Sīs mountains and [Seljuq] Rūm.

In it the Sultan delegated the deputy sultanate of Aleppo to the emir Shams al-Dīn Qarāsunqur. Also in it, Abagha, the king of the Tatars, perished. His brother Tegūder, who assumed the name of Aḥmad Sultan, took power. He took Islam as a religion, and wrote a letter to the Sultan about that. So he sent him a reply, and provisioned his envoys to him, as he had already received them with honor, and supplied them with their requests.

In this year also the death of Mengū Temūr, the king of the [Golden Horde] Tatars, was confirmed, in the northlands. After him his brother Töde Mengū, sat on the chair of Ṣarāy.<sup>7</sup>

In it al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ son of the Sultan was married to the daughter of the emir Sayf al-Dīn Nogai, and he consummated the marriage, being madly in love. The Sultan also consummated his marriage with the honorable lady daughter of Suktāy son of Qarāljin son of Junghān Nuyan, who was the son of the paternal uncle of Tanjū, the famous commander. These are all from the famous notables, and the senior well-knowns.

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<sup>7</sup> On the Volga River, in present-day Russia.

This Suktāy was part of a delegation to the Egyptian homelands during the Zāhirī days, accompanied by Bījūr al-Rūmī, him and his brother Qūmshī. The Sultan realized his worth, and verified who he was, so at that time married his previously mentioned daughter. He brought her to him at an hour of a felicitous ascendant [star], and she continued in this felicity, as she was the mother of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir, the inheritor of the thrones and pulpits. [108]

**Year 682 [1283–4]** In it the Sultan proceeded to the coastal lands, and ordered the digging of al-Ṭiriyya Canal, and he allocated it to the armies, and even used the royal mamluks on it. It was completed in ten days; its length was 6500 *qaṣaba*.

In it the Sultan wrote to the deputy sultan of Aleppo, to prepare the Aleppan army to raid Sīs and its lands in retribution for the vandalism that its ruler did in Aleppo at the time of the Ḥimṣ event [battle]. So they sent raiders to it, and they departed from it safely.

In it matters that did not please him reached him about al-Mas`ūd Khidr son of al-Zāhir,<sup>8</sup> and those [from the] Zāhiriyya [regiment] about him in Kerak, as well as movements leading to corruption and cessation of the mutual love. So he dispatched the emir Badr al-Dīn *amīr silāh*, and a number of the army to squeeze them, in addition to writing to them to forbid them from these matters. But they would not be forbidden. He then proceeded to Syria to look into its welfare, arriving in Damascus, then returned to the Egyptian homelands.

Al-Malik al-Ashraf was married to the sister of his brother's wife, who was the daughter of the emir Sayf al-Dīn Nogai. During this year Tegüder was killed, who was [called] Aḥmad Sultan. After him Arghun son of Abagha reigned. The ruler of [Seljuq] Rūm Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw son of Rukn al-Dīn Qilij Arslān was killed.

The Lascarid, ruler of Constantinople, died, and his son, named Andronicus [II] reigned after him. He [Qalāwūn] sent the emir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Muḥibbī al-Jazarī to him with gifts and condolences for his father.

An envoy from Töde Mengü, who sat in place of Mengü Temür, came to the glorious gate, informing of his conversion to Islam. The Sultan returned [109] an answer informing him of his happiness that he obtained by his conversion, and the mutual love that was affirmed by his departure from the oppression and darkness of unbelief.

In it the Aleppan army raided the land of Sīs a second time, accompanied by the emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Shamsī. Then they camped up against al-Tīnāt, and used mangonels to cast at it. Its people requested a safe conduct, demonstrating submission and establishing tribute that they should pay.

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<sup>8</sup> Baybars declines to add al-Malik (king) to al-Mas`ūd, probably because he did not respect him.

While they were doing that, a number of the Tatar road-guard (*qarāghūl*) came to them, whose commander was Sayf al-Dīn Jankalī son of al-Bābā, and conflicted with them, so they fought. Most of the Tatars were killed, and six persons were taken prisoner. The emir Shihāb al-Dīn Ḥaydar from the Aleppan army was martyred.

The narrator says: This Sayf al-Dīn Jankalī came to the Egyptian homelands during the Nāṣirī regime, and informed me personally of this.

In it the Sultan proceeded to Syria, and arrived in Damascus. An envoy from Aḥmad Sultan had already presented himself, whose name was Shaykh `Abd al-Raḥmān, who had status and position with him (Aḥmad). The Sultan ordered for him to be domiciled in Damascus, as he was proceeding towards it. Then the news of the death of the one who sent him arrived while he was staying there.

When the Sultan arrived, he summoned him, heard his message, and understood his statement, but did not make him aware of the death of his master until he had honored him. Then after that he [Qalāwūn] made known to him [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān] what had occurred with him.

In it the Muslims conquered Qaḥīnā Castle, which had been in the hands of the unbelievers, close to Karkar, harming it. A group from Karkar went to it, then besieged it. Its people requested safe conduct, so handed it over to the Sultan's deputies.

In it also the border fortress of al-Kakhtā was conquered, which is a strong fortress, surrounded by approximately 70 dwellings for inhabitants. In its citadel was a deputy, whose name was al-Shujā` Mūsā. The deputy sultan corresponded to get his men to defect, and encouraged them, so they killed this deputy [Mūsā], and sent seeking to hand over the fortress. It was established among the Islamic realms, and became a bone in the throat of the Armenians. It was very useful in raids, and preventing incursions from those areas.

In it there was the flood which became so famous, and the mention of it, its date became a by-word for the people to date events, speaking about its immensity. It happened during Wednesday night 10 Sha`bān [November 3, 1283], while the Sultan was determined to depart [110] from Damascus, proceeding to the homelands of Egypt.

But then the flood came upon him like the Flood [of Noah], with a surge which the report about it was not like seeing it personally. The horses, camals, and mules perished, and the standards, tents and heavy armor were carried away. Trees were uprooted, and it was the grace of God that it came as it went, and quieted down as fast as it had risen.

If it were not for that, then the wells would have been effaced, and the moats and walls would have been destroyed. The Sultan travelled, returning to his Citadel in happiness at his victory and strength, so he arrived there on 18 Ramaḍān [December 10, 1283]. The death of al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nāṣir al-Dīn, ruler of Ḥamāh, was confirmed during this year, so the Sultan ordered

the establishment of his son in his place, strengthening him, acting towards him in the usual manner, and corresponding with him. [111]

**Year 683 [1284–5]** In it the Maṣṣūrī Hospital was completed, and the school, the noble cupola, and the Qur’ān school (*maktab al-sabīl*) in Cairo *bayn al-qaṣrayn* in the quickest possible period of time, under the supervision of `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Manṣūrī, known as al-Shujā`ī.

Temptations were realized in these [buildings] that amaze the eyes, the poets describe them in their epic poems, and arrange unparalleled works in their praise. We have adduced a minimal amount in this place in order to demonstrate the enthusiasm, and to loosen the pen for the tongue. These are the lines we have abridged:

[*Poetry previously translated.*] [112]

The narrator says: in this year, the sultanic charity transferred me to the command of a marching band, which was among God’s graces carried out at his hands, and he benefited it from God’s mercy upon him. I will tell of it as long as I live! And immortalize that on the glossy pages which will be published when the days wind me up. How could I over mention it or leave off gratitude for it, while it continues to benefit me from the past, growing continuously. I am, as it is said,

*My skin acknowledges it for me, nor even in death am I able to deny it.* [113]

**Year 684 [1285–6]** In it the star of felicity shown forth, and the crescent moon peeked out lighting all existence by its appearance. The Sultan received news of the most felicitous child, and the greatest of births, who was our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir who constructed the foundations of his memory, and tightened the bonds of his belt.

*What a newborn; men rejoice in him, and he is a sign of the kingship’s continuity,  
God ordained to give him a powerful victory, by which to return to the kingship,  
His name is the Returner because of his creation and forming—no doubt an established matter,  
Conqueror of Baghdad, which was treasured up for him by his horsemen, there is no doubt in him!  
The fates continue to move in accord, and the flag continues unfurled, held high.*

In it the Sultan went to protected Syria, and proceeded to attack Marqab because of the aggression he felt towards its occupants. So he dragged both his horse and men to it, surrounding it with the victorious army both on its rugged and on level sides. They were serious in the siege, and continuously



cast rocks, and [tunneled] tunnels in the night and day, without relenting or letting up, any concessions or postponement.

When the tunnels' shafts were made, the resolve of its inhabitants weakened, and they saw the benefit to them of a request for safe conduct before all was lost. So they asked the Sultan to be straightforward to them with it: he would receive the fortress from them, and he could allow them to proceed to a safe spot. He assented to their request, and gave a safe conduct to all of them [114] and the fortress was handed over.

The victorious standards waving were raised upon its battlements, and the noble flags fluttered from its spurs on its sides. He transferred men, implements, provisions, and armories to it, so it became part of the Islamic realms, and the Manşūrī conquests.

It is among the strongest fortresses and highest refuges, placed upon a mountain high above the salt sea. It is difficult to approach and travel from all quarters and sides. When its inhabitants handed it over unwillingly, and departed due to the judgment of swords, they asked to proceed to Tripoli. Thus, they proceeded to it, without anyone harassing them. This was in the month of Rabī' al-Awwal, year 684 [May 1285].

This victory was one for the felicitous ascendant of the lordly sultanic al-Malik al-Nāşir, which clarified the signs of his felicity while he was still in his cradle. The Sultan had sent to Sunqur *al-ashqar* for him to be present at the siege since he was close by, but he was dilatory and hung back. When there was repeated correspondence with him he sent his son to the Sultan apologetically, not receiving much of a reception. He [Qalāwūn] prevented him from returning to his father, in a rage at his refusal, and the Sultan returned to the Egyptian homelands. [115]

**Year 685 [1286–7]** In it the Sultan dispatched an army accompanied by the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭuruntāy al-Manşūrī, the deputy Sultan, to Kerak, so he went to it, and camped up against it with mangonels and siege implements, and besieged it, cutting its ability go out from it. He mixed the stick with the carrot, and force with inducements. So its people and men (soldiers) inclined towards him, winning it over coming closer, and a number of them slipped out to him. He was generous to them, giving them the sweet food of wealth, so all of them inclined towards him.

When al-Mas'ūd Najm al-Dīn Khiḍr and his brother Salāmish saw that they were going to be left all alone, without anyone staying together with them, they inclined towards peace and submission, asking for a safe conduct. The emir Ḥusām al-Dīn guaranteed them a safe conduct and good treatment. He corresponded with the noble [sultanic] gates about this, asking for one of the confidants of the Sultan to be sent to bring him the seal for the safe conduct.

The author states: He [Ṭuruntāy] deputized me to bring back the answer, and to get the request, so I arrived to the two of them, and gave his message to the two of them. Their hopes were fulfilled, then descended immediately, meeting with the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn, and handing Kerak over to him.

The emir `Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Mawṣilī was assigned there as the deputy sultan, where (previously) he had been deputy in Shawbak, but had been present at the time of his besieging Kerak. So the latter became [deputy], then he [Ṭurunṭāy] bestowed robes of honor upon the commanders and men of Kerak, and upon those Bedouin emirs who were in it. He organized it, then traveled returning to the Egyptian homelands, while the two sons of al-Malik al-Zāhir were with them, being honored and revered in the highest degree.

When he arrived with the both of them in the Egyptian homelands, the Sultan rode out leading a big procession, meeting them when they neared the Citadel, and received them both well, treating them well. He gave them both the most generous [116] treatment, and accorded them *iqṭā`* fiefs and marching bands, causing them to dwell in the Citadel, acting towards them like his own children. They began to ride together with him in his processions, and stayed like that until things he disliked about them reached him.

Then he ordered to lay hands on them, because of what was being said, and incarcerated them both of them. They stayed there until the days of al-Malik al-Ashraf, then the latter sent them to Constantinople on a boat from the border port of Alexandria. Al-Malik al-Zāhir was recompensed in his descendants for what he had done to Ibn al-Mu`izz,<sup>9</sup> as he had sent him there (as well).

When the rule devolved upon our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir he brought Najm al-Dīn Khidr [back] to the Egyptian homelands, but his brother Salāmish had died in Constantinople. So his mother brought him when she was presented (to the court).

In it the Sultan departed to protected Syria, camping at Gaza, and the armies settled there. He dispatched a small unit to Kerak, to report about its situation, and organize its affairs, commanding him to stay there. So I stayed in accord with his noble commands, may God sanctify his spirit, and enlighten his tomb by His mercy. [117]

**Year 686 [1287–8]** In it the Sultan dispatched the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, his deputy, to Ṣahyūn to besiege it, in recompense for Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar*'s manifest dilatoriness in answering about helping out against Marqab, and absence of esteem and respect. Also because of the raids he initiated upon the lands surrounding him, his continued obstinacy, departure from the obligations of agreement, and his opening himself to dissension.

Therefore, the Sultan dispatched an army, accompanied by the one mentioned [Ṭurunṭāy]. He went to Ṣahyūn, besieging it with determination proceeding from his name, and judgment more sure than an arrow. He sent to the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar* with the coterie and mutual love that was between him and the Sultan, and the older agreements and mutual aid that had established the situation.

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<sup>9</sup> Son of Baybars' predecessor.

He also informed him that this siege was not for annoyance, it was to join ranks, and to conjoin the Sultan's circumstances with his own. If he responded positively to that, then he would receive loyalty in all the sultanic benefits he would desire. He would have the highest position in the coterie. However, if he refused, there would only be a siege and encirclement for him, casting [stones] and extending [ladders to scale the walls] until he was in his power, and all who were with him would be helpless to defend him. So immediately, he should hand it over, since he had no favor to repay nor love for which to be grateful.

When he took his time, he [Ṭurunṭāy] demonstrated resolution, firmness and constancy, so the mangonels began their work, and the armies dug in for the siege. Then he [Sunqur] saw something that terrified him, caused his mind to be distracted, and ensured that he did not have what it took to defend from the siege. He knew that if the fortress was taken by force his distress would be lengthy and he would never attain his wish.

So he sent requesting safe conduct, seeking to assure it by oaths, whereupon the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn assented immediately, swearing to what he desired, guaranteeing a double portion of honor from the Sultan. He was given safe conduct for his person, his guard, his family (wives), children, supporters and group (troops). When he was at ease with his promises, and tranquil about [118] his covenants, he descended and handed over Ṣahyūn to him.

Eyes were pleased, and the matter which had seemed to everyone to be intractable was now easy. This was in the month of Rabī' al-Awwal year 686 [April to May 1287]. Its affairs were ordered, and he and the above [Sunqur] traveled to the Egyptian homelands.

When they arrived, the Sultan rode out to meet the both of them, leading a procession of all the armies, the emirs, the senior figures, the coterie, al-Baḥriyya and al-Ṣāliḥiyya [regiments]. When they came near to one another, the Sultan leapt off of his horse, hugged him, chest-to-chest (*kārasha*), and escorted him to the Citadel, giving him a dwelling place in it. He conveyed robes of honor, gifts of cloth fabric, and straps of gold to him sufficient to fill his heart with joy, and his hand with plenty.

He led a horse marked with special gear, and had him sit while he was present, and a companion when he was traveling; discoursing with him when he was staying someplace, and an adviser for important matters. He continued on in this way for the duration of the Sultan's life. None of his faults were mentioned, nor was there any rancor over what had passed allowed to disquiet him, but he received clemency for what was passed, and showed him the face of favor. This was his wont with him until he died.

When God Most High decreed the passing of the Sultan to the vicinity of his Lord, and the rule was delegated to al-Malik al-Ashraf, God caused him a change of heart, so he imprisoned him until the end of his reign.

During this year Töde Mengü, the king of the Tatars in the northlands, abdicated from his realm, and Töle Buqa, nephew of Berke, ruled them.

In it the Sultan dispatched an army from the provincial armies and the Bedouin accompanied by the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Masrūrī *al-khayyāt*, and the emir `Izz al-Dīn Aydimur al-Sayfī, governor of Qūṣ to raid the Nubians. They went to Dongola, raided it, and its lands, taking a large number captive, and then returned to the Egyptian homelands. [119]

**Year 687 [1288–9]** In it the Sultan removed the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Manṣūrī known as al-Shujā`ī from the ministership, and took revenge upon him for his injustice towards the subjects and the chancelleries (*dawāwīn*), the filling of his prisons with those from whom he extorted money (*muṣādirīn*), and then forgetting about them for months and even years. Therefore, he removed him, taught him a lesson, extracted from him, and officially appointed the emir Badr al-Dīn Baydarā to the ministership.

He acted as the majordomo after having been the emir of the council (*majlis*), and he had good character, and fine handwriting. He ordered the liberation of those imprisoned, and for those squeezed to be cheered. The emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, the deputy of the noble Sultanate, was deputized to audit everyone al-Shujā`ī had imprisoned, and set them free.

The righteous prayers for his dynasty redoubled, and hearts were united in loving him, while opinions of him improved as a result of the gentleness Baydarā demonstrated in his ministership. This was while al-Shujā`ī continued to function as an emir.

In it the death of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ `Alā al-Dīn `Alī son of the martyred Sultan and his eldest was confirmed after having sickened with dysentery. Therefore, he grieved terribly over the loss of him, and suffered horrible pain over it, because he was beloved to the hearts, following kingly ethics in the best way. He left behind one male child, who was the emir Muzaffar al-Dīn Mūsā.

In it the lady Ghāziyya Khātūn, daughter of the Sultan, also died, who was the wife of al-Malik al-Sa`īd. [120]

**Year 688 [1289–90]** In it the Sultan proceeded to protect Syria to attack Tripoli, and this was because its inhabitants had violated the peace in their vandalism and harassment towards the Muslims in these lands. The armies went from the Egyptian homelands, and the armies from the Syrian realms were summoned. Supplies, men for sacral fighting (*jihād*) were mustered, and he besieged it tightly.

Its inhabitants defended it, but the defense did not avail; they tried to protect, but there was no protection. The mangonels directed their bolts at them, the swords began their lightning flashes, and events put them at the mercy of disasters, with the events training arrows against them like clouds. The miners began their mining, and tunneled towards it in tunnels, its fever worsened, its capped ones grieved, its bravery flagged, and its knights fled,<sup>10</sup> as the armies surrounded its walls and towers, entering *en masse* through all its openings.

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<sup>10</sup> Baybars tries for a literary flourish here, as each of these word couplets starts with the same two letters as the subject following.

The victorious standards rose on its battlements, having taken control over its sides, putting its people to the sword, as they were condemned to death. They were taken into captivity and plunder, as many of its women, daughters and sons were taken captive. The men and the knights were taken prisoner, and many of its goods, possessions and furnishings were taken as booty. All those resisters inside of it were put to death, and then the Sultan ordered it to be destroyed, so it was. Its walls were ripped down, razed, and then its remains were leveled with the ground.

This was on 4 Rabī' al-Ākhir 688 [April 27, 1289]. So the Muslims were finally free of its harm, sufficed for the evil of the damage it caused, and the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr gained the good tidings of this conquest for which they were grateful. Praising him were the poets: [121]

*You have reached the outer limits of what you sought, passing the highest reaches of rank in seriousness,  
Abū al-Muẓaffar, armies continue to be victorious over the enemies in fear because of you,  
You have protected Tripoli that was lost of old, gathering kings capable of terrifying and frightening,  
From every quarter they surrounded, bearing in on it, just as eyelashes surround the pupils,  
You cast at it with mangonels that were set up against it; the height of its towers was lowered by the setting up,  
You made oceans flow out of their brackish water in it, so every ship is swimming towards a sandy shore,  
You made them taste the bitterness of their humiliation after majesty; after security, cups of fear and disease,  
May God recompense you for every righteous deed, and add to your majesty the power over every obstacle,  
Continue always hoping and fearing for a central and penetrating call; all you attempt will be achieved.*

The Sultan traveled to the Egyptian homelands, but planned out a city close to it [Tripoli], in front of it close to the mountain, which would be called the same name, and peopled it with people, set up its port, and made it the capital for the deputy sultan for the conquests, and his garrison army. In it the death of Qubilai Khan, the son of Tului, brother of Hülegü, was confirmed. He was the senior khan (*ṣāhib al-takht*), and his son Sharmūn son of Qubilai, ruled after him. [122]

**Year 689 [1290]** In it the Sultan resolved to raid Acre because of his being notified of Muslim merchants being harmed, in addition to damage to the comers and goers from them which occurred in it. This was that merchants came from the Sultan's realms, but when they came, they [the Acrans] surrounded them, killed them, and took what they had with them.

The Sultan was notified of this, which enraged him and left a deep impression inside, so he ordered the victorious armies to depart. He camped at the Straw Mosque, staying in the royal tent for however long the preparations took to complete, and for the army to get ready.

In the Citadel he had left al-Malik al-Ashraf, his son, in his place, and that was during the last tenth of Shawwāl [late October 1290]. However, he felt unwell (*tawa`ak*) in his body, so he stayed in the previously mentioned place. The sickness intensified until he was incapable of movement, as the disease took over. No remedy was potent, and the inevitable approached, so he gave up the ghost, and went to meet his Lord.

His passing was on 6 Dhū al-Qa`da [November 10, 1290] in the army camp. Death's caller came, and all his units and troops were unable to benefit him, nor did his provisions and stores, but the hearts burned for him in grief, livers were rent in sorrow, and there was general loss among the lands and servants, in the settled and the nomadic, because he was self-controlled, moderate, caring, and went praised, dying a martyr according to his intention of raiding.

God mighty and majestic said in His Mighty Book, "Whoever goes forth from his muse, emigrating to God and His messenger, (and) then death overtakes him—his reward falls on God (to pay). Surely God is forgiving, compassionate."<sup>11</sup> [123]

The Messenger of God said:

God guarantees for everyone who goes forth in the way of God—without any other motive than to fight (*jihād*) in My way, or believing in Me, or trusting in My messengers—that I will cause him to enter paradise or return him to the home from which he departed, after having obtained either reward or booty.<sup>12</sup>

Therefore, God magnified his reward, and will perpetuate his memory as long as time continues. The duration of his rule was ten years, and he left of his children al-Malik al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl who sat [on the throne] after him, and al-Malik al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad. One of the poets recited some lines in which there is an eulogy:

[*Poetry previously translated.*] [124] [125]

The emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, the deputy Sultan, stood guard, together with the Manṣūrī emirs and the royal mamluks who were with him, until the Sultan was transferred to the Citadel, and they transferred the treasures and large tents (*buyūtāt*) that were in the pavilion in haste. The regime (*niẓām*) was stable, and

<sup>11</sup> Q4:100.

<sup>12</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, iv, p. 60 (no. 3123) (*kitāb farḍ al-khums*).

continued with consistent policy, as al-Malik al-Ashraf was sitting upon the sultanic cushion (*dast*) without any opposition or anyone saying anything.

His seating [on the throne] was on 7 Dhū al-Qa`da year 689 [November 11, 1290], and he received the Islamic realms in the Egyptian and Syrian homelands. Among that which was said concerning that

*Your call, O Just one, Dispenser of justice, more blessed than the rain that is described,  
 God's servants have no need of what they have attained, for your generosity is like the sea which is known,  
 People obey you out of choice, without spear or flashing sword to subdue them,  
 How many kings have ruled Egypt, how they tried to be generous, but were not, nor even wasted (money),  
 Until the Victorious (Maṣṣūr) came, making the men by his actions, forgetting what was before,  
 What they gave was not like what he left, nor what he left behind was what they left behind,  
 So be proud of what you have attained, boasting, for you are the Most Noble King (al-Malik al-Ashraf).*

When he was established in the sultanate just a few days, he turned on the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, and then seized him, and that was the end of him. Guards were placed around his homes, and his possessions, treasures, revenues, horses and storehouses. A massive amount was recovered, and coins and items with value were taken from it. His mamluks were taken as well as his servants, and the position of deputy Sultan was delegated to the emir Badr al-Dīn Baydarā al-Manṣūrī. The position of minister was given to a man named Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Sal`ūs—a Syrian merchant. He stretched out his hand and tongue, and his reins were let loose in the area of commanding right and forbidding wrong. [126]

**Year 690 [1291]** In it the Sultan resolved to besiege Acre in order to complete the attack his martyr father had initiated, so he wrote the order for the armies of Egypt to depart altogether, and sent to the deputies in Syria to lead its armies in haste, to carry siege implements to it, and to maximize what was possible to maximize.

The deputies made haste in the cities and fortresses to fulfill the orders, and the armies came in their massiveness, followed by levies, and hastening troops. The Sultan camped up against it as his armies covered the earth. The men were filled with every gallantry to be victorious and to see the siege through.

Among those present were the ruler of Ḥamāh, the deputy of Damascus, who was Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn al-Manṣūrī then, the Syrian emirs, the deputy of Safed, the deputies of the conquests, and other emirs, commanders and all of the armies. The Sultan summoned implements that were needed from

Kerak and mangonels that were to be set up against it, together with the miners (*hajjārīn*) and wood-workers (*najjārīn*).

I requested from him whether I could travel with them to the victorious camp, and be present at this righteous stand, so I went to his gate, was honored to kiss his dirt, renewed a vow upon seeing him, and was pleased at the sight of him on the sultan's cushion.

The inhabitants of Acre, when the armies of the Muslims surrounded them, they bore witness to a mass, Arab and non-Arab peoples, and they sent to their senior rulers, seeking aid, and asking for assistance. A large number of Hospitallers, Templars and other Franks gathered, and fortified their towers, took preparations, and prepared provisions—their (enemies') number impressed them. They did not close a single one of their gates because of this impression.<sup>13</sup>

The mangonels were placed in front of its walls, and the Muslims besieged it tightly, while its inhabitants charged out to fight from the gates with horse and foot, attacking the camps, crushing those standing (guard) sometimes, and those sleeping. Among the emirs of Islam who were martyred there were 'Alā' al-Dīn [127] Kushtghadī al-Shamsī, Badr al-Dīn Bīlik al-Mas'ūdī, and Sharaf al-Dīn Qīrān al-Sakrī (or Sikizī).

The fighting between the two sides intensified, while the victorious army prepared for sacral fighting (*jihād*), while the Turkish guard was continuous day and night. The shovels in the tunnels made their way bit by bit. I directed, with God's assistance, the side where I was located, and the curtain wall (*badana*) which I had neared, to a place I had repaired, to a covering of wool I had stitched, and raised upon two poles/masts I had positioned, with two wheels I had prepared, so this constituted a covering between us and the tower there. So the moat's barrier was overpowered, and with it the ability to cross, and to make way to the walls.

This news reached the Sultan, so he was surprised, and rode personally [to examine it]. The kettledrums were beaten, the horns blared, the voices were raised, and the champions and brave (warriors) rushed. They fought the Franks in a fierce struggle, and turned from the use of spears to the sword-flats, swarming onto the walls, scaling them, carrying the standards and raising them. The people were deeply terrified, as the swords took them annihilating, and the Muslims killed brutally among them, killing a number, taking their women and youths captive, plundering their possessions and money, and destroying their abodes and dwellings.

The large towers still resisted, in which were the Templars, the Germans and the Hospitallers. Oh no! When the young had them in their clutches, destruction encompassed them, while there was no chance of victory or helpers. But complete panic called them to this, and fear of quick death. They had no way to flee or any way to resolve the issue.

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<sup>13</sup> So they could carry out sorties.



Therefore, they locked the gates of the towers, barricaded themselves from departing, then asked for a safe conduct. They were taken, brought out, and dispersed among the emirs, then killed.

God made its conquest the first and the last, treasured up for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. For it was first conquered at the hand of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb, and then last conquered at the hand of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Manṣūr. The Muslims were overjoyed at that time, and the believers were happy with God's victory.<sup>14</sup> The tidings were sounded out in the Islamic cities and fortresses.

When this city was conquered, which was the mother of the coastal cities, and the major Frankish city, God cast terror into the hearts of the neighboring cities' inhabitants. Their necks were bowed before the Sultan's tread, they hastily demonstrated their submission, and sent asking for safe conduct.

This was granted them, so they handed over their fortresses, departing from them, abandoning them as a result of impotence, giving them over to the Sultan without any difficulty. His banners were positioned upon them without any mishap, the felicity of his seriousness negated the need for his armies' efforts, and the approach of his time [128] from having to employ white and red [swords].

These were Tyre, Sidon, 'Athlīth, Beirut, and Haifa, so the coastland was now free of their knights and foot (soldiers); every one of them departed. All of this was in a short while and a small time, as a grace from Mighty, Knowing, Fore-ordaining. One of the poets composed lines describing this conquest, mentioning this bounty, which are:

[*Poetry previously translated.*] [129]

The Sultan rode to Damascus, and removed the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn from governing it, replacing him with 'Alam al-Dīn al-Shujā'ī. He went from it to the Egyptian homelands, and crossed to protected Cairo, which was decorated in a way that dazzled the eyes, while his processions were surrounded by the numerous army, together with the prisoners before him among the captives. He ascended to the Citadel happy with the power and clear victory that had been given to him, and all of the people were joyful at that as well.

In that year Arghun son of Abagha, the king of the Tatars, perished, and Gaykhātū his brother took his place. Arghun left male children: Ghazān and Khudabandā. In it also Töle Buqa, king of the Tatars, of Berke's house, was killed, and Toqto'a (Nugtā) son of Mengū Temūr ruled in his stead.

In it the Sultan sent Najm al-Dīn Khidr and Badr al-Dīn Salāmish to the land of the Byzantines, because of matters that had reached him about the two of them. He wanted to exile them, and sent their womenfolk with them. He finished this year pleased with his sultanate, satisfied with his accomplishments. [130]

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<sup>14</sup> Paraphrase of Q30:4.

## Text 4 (c)

# *MUKHTĀR AL-AKHBĀR: TĀ'RĪKH AL-DAWLA AL-AYYŪBIYYA WA-DAWLAT AL-MAMĀLĪK*

## SELECT ACCOUNTS: A HISTORY OF THE AYYUBID AND MAMLUK DYNASTIES

*This work is a short epitome of the Zubdat al-fikra. Although there is no new material in it, it gives us an indication of what Baybars saw as the most important events of the time.*

### **Al-Malik al-Manṣūr, Sayf al-Dīn, Qalāwūn**

His sitting [upon the throne] was after the removal of al-Malik al-'Ādil in Sha`bān year 678 [mid-December 1279], and his death was in 689 [1290], so his period [of ruling] was 11 years.

When he sat [upon the throne] he commanded [the right] and forbade [the wrong],<sup>1</sup> and ordered the basics of the regime. He commanded the arrest of the Zāhirī emirs, who had caused these dissensions (*fitan*), and he remembered the Baḥriyya and Ṣāliḥiyya [regiments], bestowing largesse upon them, and treating them well. He united them after their disunion; raised them after their being humbled.

He appointed as emir those who would act responsibly with their emirship; he appointed as commander those who were worthy of leading, and assigned castles and fortresses to the deputies. He set as sultanic policy that which would strengthen it, and returned its order.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Q3:110.

The first of the mamluks to have recourse to him was the emir `Alā' al-Dīn Qarāsunqur al-Kāmīlī, and he was returned to the royal mamluks of the Sultan al-Malik al-Şāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb—he and a group of his coterie (*khūshdāshīyya*). Among them were Baybars al-`Alā'ī, Sunqur *al-ashqar*, Sunqur al-Rūmī, Sikkiz, Balabān al-Karīmī, and they were integrated with the totality of the Baḥriyya. Affairs had passed under their control during the Mu`izz regime, which was mentioned previously.

Through this, felicity was transferred to the sultanate, and supervision over the mamluks' circumstances. He transferred the emirship to them according to their rank, so among them were those he appointed deputy to the sultan in the Egyptian homelands, among them were those he sent forth to the Syrian lands, and among them were those who were transferred after his death to the royal sultanate [mamluks].

When the Sultan sent the sons of al-Malik al-Zāhir to Kerak, he stipulated upon them that they were not to harass those lands beyond, nor were they to stretch forth their hands to circumstances that would cause corruption (*fasād*). However, those Zāhirī mamluks which had been sidelined gathered to them, together with those from the Egyptian homelands who fled, and they harassed for fun, going beyond what was necessary.

They took al-Shawbak, al-Şalt and the Balqā' region, and their envoys passed back and forth through the Syrian lands seeking to take them—all of which [71] reached the Sultan, while he looked away. However, when it reached him that they had gone to the deputy in Damascus, desiring to take it, he sent the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar* against it.

He arrived there during Dhū al-Ḥijja 678 [April 1280], but tyranny enticed him, and he departed from obedience, and became stubborn, seeking the sultanate for himself. He took the name of al-Malik al-Kāmīl, and corresponded with the deputies in the fortresses, dissensions flared up, opinions differed, and feelings parted the ways.

Therefore, the Sultan sent an army from the Egyptian homelands in the company of the emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī al-Şāliḥī and the emir Badr al-Dīn al-Fakhrī, the emir in charge of the weaponry. At their arrival in Gaza, they chanced upon the arrival of the emir Badr al-Dīn al-Aydimurī from al-Shawbak, leading some of his army with him, because the Sultan had dispatched him to it, to take it from al-Malik al-Mas`ūd son of al-Malik al-Zāhir.

So he took him, and amalgamated the above with the emirs, and they worked together. Sunqur *al-ashqar* dispatched a troop from Damascus in the company of the emir Badr al-Dīn Bajkā al-`Alā'ī, so the two of them met at Gaza, when the Egyptian armies crushed them, following them to al-Kaswa.

Sunqur *al-ashqar* departed leading the Damascene, Ḥamān, and Aleppan army. When the lines [of battle] were drawn up, the emir `Alam al-Dīn charged, him and those with him, against Sunqur *al-ashqar*, so they crushed them, and defeated them, though he himself was saved. He took refuge in Şahyūn, and his supporters dispersed. His period [of rule] in Damascus was 40 days.

He corresponded with Abagha [son of] Hūlegū, sending scouts to his son who was there. When he [Sunqur] had been in the Tatar lands, he had intermarried with them, and begat sons. Some of them continued to stay in those lands afterwards. So he sent asking them [the Mongols] to come to the Islamic lands, inciting them to head towards the Syrian lands.

Reports were confirmed that he sent his brother Mengū Temūr leading armies, while he himself stayed in al-Khābūr. The Tatars crossed the Euphrates [River] with a large number, and troops, as if they were a blackened night. At that point, the Sultan prepared to meet them [in battle], ordering the armies to be ready.

The Sultan departed [72] during Dhū al-Hijja 679 [April 1281], and when he arrived at al-Rawḥā camp [...] al-Lajjūn during springtime, staying there until the reports were verified. The Tatar advanced, so then he ordered a march towards Damascus, so we stayed in it a short while. A group of Turkmen staying in `Ayntāb departed that evening, girding themselves<sup>3</sup> to Aqjādirand. Among their number was Julltār, Abagha's *amīr akhūr* (shield-bearer).

The Turkmen fell upon them, and killed one of them, so the rest retreated, and they took Julltār, bringing him to the Sultan, who questioned him about the reports concerning the Tatars. He spoke truthfully about them, their number was 80,000, as Abagha had dispatched eight out of every ten horsemen.

When the Sultan heard this, it made a big impression upon him, and he purified his intentions towards God, riding from Marj `Adhrā' towards Ḥimṣ. He sent for the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar*. He sweet-talked him, reminding him of their previous service and the close coterie (*khūshdāshiyya*), and the obligations he had to the Islamic community.

He said to him, "How is it that you have passed your life in Islam, but when the common people revile you, and death calls to you, you fight (*tujāhid*) the Muslims together with the Tatars, siding with the unbelievers against your religion?" Much more like that was exchanged, so then the former [Sunqur] sent a trusty man to conclude a pact with the Sultan, that he would not harm him by hand or tongue, and that he would have choice and freedom to act for himself as he saw fit.

The Sultan answered him affirmatively, and swore in the presence of his scouts, so he presented himself to the camp on 12 Rajab 680 [October 27, 1281] prior to the battle. The Muslims cheered up at his presence, and took heart, because he had been an aid against them, whereas now he was an aid to them, with the fame he had accrued and the thanks he had earned.

The roster of deputies assembled at Shayzar in anticipation of the Tatars' arrival, and the spies were present, informing them of what they had seen personally. Then the Sultan rode himself, and assigned the army a right and left

<sup>2</sup> Text garbled.

<sup>3</sup> Reading *mutaḥazzamīn* in place of *mutaḥarrāmīn*.

flank, and a center. He began to review their positions one at a time, riding to shore up their morale himself morning and evening.

Their spirits rose, and he promised them [73] good things, inciting them with the recompense<sup>4</sup> that God has prepared for fighters (*mujāhidin*). When it was the morning of Thursday, 14 Rajab 680 [October 29, 1281] the Tatars advanced with vanguard (*aṭlāb*) like the waves in the sea, and squadrons of horsemen (*karādīs*) which if you considered them, the side dazzled.

Leading the Islamic right flank was the emir Badr al-Dīn Bīsīrī (=Baysarā), al-Malik al-Manṣūr, ruler of Hamāh, the emir `Alā' al-Dīn *al-ḥājj* Tīburs al-Wazīrī, Āl Faḍl, Āl Murrā, and other Bedouin on the right flank.

Leading the left flank were the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar*, the emir Badr al-Dīn Baktāsh, *amīr silāh*, the emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, and among them were the Turkmen, the army of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, while at the head of the left flank was the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy with his group. Some of the emirs were with the battlefield flag (*jalīsh*), while the Sultan was in the center. We were with him under the standards (*sanājiq*).

When the Tatars attacked, the hue and cry rose inciting the Muslims to advance towards them, and the two sides met. The Islamic right flank was opposite the Tatars' left flank, but fighting caused them to turn back, and the worst possible fate happened to them. The Islamic right flank crushed the Tatars' left flank, and many of them were killed. Mengü Temür turned and fled, as did his following, with us pursuing.

We thought that the Islamic left flank had done the same, but instead when it had met the Tatars and attacked them, the former had retreated and did not hold firm. Sunqur *al-ashqar* crossed the Orontes River fleeing, together with the army of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, and others in the left flank. The Tatars pursued them until Ḥimṣ Dam, which is known as Asad al-Dīn, but they did not know which direction they had gone.

As for us, when we defeated the Tatars, we pursued them until the later afternoon, and we caught most of them being either killed or captured. When we had rolled up their reins, we let out a rousing cry, and an army on the go, not doubting that this was among the Islamic armies! It was apparent from the Tatars' army that the left flank had been crushed that they had gone back to where they came from, turning on their heels, while they were grouped one close to another, hastily escaping to wherever.

They passed by the Sultan while he was accompanied by minimal troops, but with a heavy amount of armor and supplies. They stood opposite him for a time, while he was self-controlled [74], not standing aside,<sup>5</sup> and took counsel, but in the end turned away, and did not come near him. This was because of divine protection. If they had approached him, and fallen upon

<sup>4</sup> Reading *mujāzāt* for *mujārāt*.

<sup>5</sup> Reading *yatazaḥzaḥu* as the editor suggests.

him, when the armies had dispersed from him, this would have been significant, and would have achieved a victory. However, God blinded their vision, and foreordained a total victory for the Muslims.

The reason that necessitated their return was that when they had come behind the army that they had defeated to Ḥimṣ Dam, they dismounted from their horses on a field near Ḥimṣ Dam, expecting the approach of their fellows to enjoy the fruits of their labors. They did not know that the latter had been crushed, and turned and fled. When they had waited a long time, they sent someone to scout out news for them, so then the reconnaissance party returned to them, informing them of what had befallen them, and they mounted their horses, having lost their minds, and returned, catching up to their fellows.

[*Aḥmad Sultan's correspondence with Qalāwūn, previously translated.*]

During the year 683 [1284] the Sultan departed for Damascus because of the [Mongol] envoys, and a flood came, which inundated the gardens and houses, and an uncounted number died.

When the Sultan Aḥmad took over the realm, Arghun, son of his brother Abagha, departed from Khurāsān to fight him, so the two of them fought, and Arghun was defeated. His uncle [Aḥmad] arrested him, and bound him, but the khans and emirs were victorious for him, and freed him from him [Aḥmad], swore to him, and killed his uncle the Sultan Aḥmad. They then sat him over the realm in his place in the year 683 [1284].

During the month of Rabī' al-Awwal year 684 [May to June 1285] there was the conquest of Marqab from the Armenians and Franks. This was because the emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī al-Manṣūrī, the deputy over Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, had gone to the Sultan to inform him that Marqab fortress was empty of horsemen and foot-soldiers, asked permission to go to it, leading the armies of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, so he gave a written order concerning this.<sup>6</sup>

When he went to it, the Armenians, Franks and coastal people came out, and crushed them and robbed them. When this reached the Sultan, he flew into a great rage, and ordered the preparation of the armies to raid Marqab. He traveled up to the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar*, who did not agree to present himself, so his double-talk and treachery became clear to the Sultan.

The Sultan camped at Marqab, and surrounded it, erecting mangonels, and the Muslims engaged in fighting. Its inhabitants asked for safe-conduct, which was granted, and so the Sultan sent its people to Tripoli, in accordance with what they had asked, not betraying them in the slightest, nor differentiating between father and son—they all departed safely.

The emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar* had sent his son, but when the Sultan saw that he was delayed, he sent his son to the Egyptian homelands in a rage against his father, and angered because of his tardiness and general refusal.

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<sup>6</sup> This incident occurred during the year 679/1280.

The Sultan returned to the Egyptian homelands, and found the school that he had ordered to be constructed [85] *bayn al-qaṣrayn* had been completed, together with the mausoleum (*turba*) which was behind it, and the hospital, and the Qur'ān school (*maktab al-sabīl*).<sup>7</sup> The total time taken for completion was seven months, not more, because the order to begin had come down at the beginning of Sha'bān 682 [November 1283], and its completion was in Ṣafar 683 [April to May 1284]. The emir 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Shujā'ī, one of the royal Maṣūūrī mamluks, took charge of the construction, and he was in charge of the accounts for the Egyptian homelands.

At the beginning of the year 685 [March 1286] the Sultan demanded that the children of al-Malik al-Zāhir return Kerak because of the bad administration, their excessive squandering, and the wastage of the plentiful possessions and many treasures that their father had stored up, so he dispatched the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy al-Manṣūrī, the deputy sultan, to them, accompanied by armies.

He camped around it for days, besieging and hemming it in, and seeking to suborn those inside, offering them money. Then the children of al-Malik al-Zāhir sent to him asking for a safe-conduct and reaffirmation of oaths. He responded affirmatively to their feelers.

He guaranteed on behalf of the Sultan the inviolability of their persons, and promised them good things, so upon that al-Malik al-Mas'ūd Najm al-Dīn Khidr and al-Malik al-'Ādil Badr al-Dīn Salāmish, the two sons of al-Malik al-Zāhir [Baybars], descended to him, and surrendered Kerak during the first ten days of Ṣafar year 685 [March 28 to April 7, 1286]. Then he organized its affairs.

When he arrived in the Egyptian homelands with the two previously mentioned, the Sultan greeted them personally, and extended to them the hand of friendship. He placed them as emirs over two marching bands (*tablkhānas*), did right by them, and caused them to dwell in the Citadel. The both of them would regularly ride with his two sons, and would go in processions immediately in front of him.

When they had been like that for a time, it became common knowledge that from a group of the royal Zāhirī mamluks who he had kept in service that they had conspired, and concealed treachery. This necessitated the arrest of the two (children of al-Zāhir) previously mentioned, and locking them up. They continued to be locked up until the Sultan died. [86]

The writer *al-muqirr* al-Ruknī, Baybars *al-dawādār*: the Sultan sent me to Kerak as a deputy, and gave me command of 80 horsemen, and I continued there until the death of the Sultan—the length of that was four years. Then during the reign of al-Ashraf I was transferred to the Egyptian homelands.

<sup>7</sup> Correcting from *kitāb al-sabīl*.

During the beginning of the 686 [February 1287] he sought to get Ṣahyūn back from the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar*, and this was because of his being a no-show at Marqab, in spite of the close distance [between the two], and his holding back from rendering aid to the armies. On top of that, the deputies from the neighboring castles had piled up complaints about it, so he sent the emir Ḥuṣām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy with armies, and he went to Ṣahyūn, and camped up against it, besieged it, and set up mangonels.

When he was about to take it, he [Sunqur] requested safe-conduct from him, and he agreed. It was decided that he would not be harmed. He received it as a guarantee from the Sultan, so he departed from Ṣahyūn, and handed it over to the emir Ḥuṣām al-Dīn, previously mentioned.

He organized it in terms of deputies and masters of professions (guilds?), and stabilized its affairs, then returned to the Egyptian homelands while he [Sunqur] accompanied him. When he arrived, the Sultan came out to meet him, and each of them alighted from his horse, hugging, standing chest-to-chest (*takārashā*), and weeping. And he took him up to the Citadel, and delivered bounty to him, treated him well, and kept him near and dear. He [Sunqur] gained more than he could have dreamed from his bestowing of honor, and he [Qalāwūn] appointed him emir over 100 horsemen. He continued in that status until the Sultan died, and his son al-Malik al-Ashraf ruled, who seized him, and put him to death in the year 691 [1290–1].

During Sha`bān of this year [September 1288] al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ son of the Sultan died. His name was `Alā` al-Dīn `Alī, and his mother was the daughter of Karmūn who we mentioned when the Sultan bedded her, when he was an emir during the Zāhirī dynasty. This al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ left behind [87] a son named Muẓaffār al-Dīn Mūsā, who the Sultan spoiled immensely. He very much enjoyed bestowing things on him, The latter was complete in his faculties, and ready for the circumstances of ruling.

In the previously mentioned year, the year 688 [1289], there was the conquest of the city of Syrian Tripoli. This was because the deputies in Syria at Ḥiṣn al-Akrād and the condominium districts' (*munāṣafāt*) letters had multiplied about the lawlessness of the Franks in Tripoli. Therefore, he resolved to target it, and wrote to the deputies in Syria to muster the armies to it from all directions, and to prepare the war-implements and mangonels. He camped up against it at the beginning of the year [March 1289], and the fighting intensified, while the effort and constant activity was redoubled.

It was taken on 4 Rabī` al-Ākhir year 688 [April 27, 1289], and the sword was applied to its people. Killing its elderly and adults was licit, while the youths and virgins were taken prisoner, and the Sultan ordered it to be destroyed, its walls and gates to be burned, and so it was destroyed and burned.

He returned to the Egyptian homelands triumphant and victorious. His realm continued to be a paradigm of order, and his government was pure during nights and days, while he was free from [worry of] any enemy who could



equal him, an army who could wage war against him, or an equal who could contest with him until the year 689 started.

Then it reached him concerning the people of Acre that they had vandalized the land, and had intended harm to merchants, killing 30 Muslims. This enraged him, and he was angered, sending a strong reply to them, and demanding that they cease their aggression and harm. However, they refused to do anything other than to keep on persisting in what they were doing, offering excuses.

Therefore, he ordered the armies to muster and prepare, which they did, and the victorious royal tent [tent] went out to the al-Tīn Mosque,<sup>8</sup> and he left his son al-Malik al-Ashraf in the Citadel, while he stayed making the armies ready for departure. After that he would travel. [88]

When it was the first tenth of Dhū al-Qa`da year 689 [November 1290], the Sultan came down with a severe sickness. He only lingered a couple of days until he died, and was taken to the presence of his Lord in the royal tent of the place mentioned previously.

The length of his sultanate until that time was 11 years, and the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, the deputy sultan, waited on him personally, and conveyed him up to the Citadel, as well as the treasury in its totality, the sultanic tents (*buyūt*) altogether, with copious<sup>9</sup> amount of materials. He [Ṭurunṭāy] sat his son al-Malik al-Ashraf on the sultanic cushion (*dast*).

As for the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, he was possessed of self-control and compassion; when he reigned, he treated all his followers well, and looked after the condition of his emirs. As for his mamluks, he raised them to the rank of emir, each one according to the level of his class, and had them participate in his bounty. Afterwards the breath of his felicity continued among them, as among them there were those who rose to the greatness of the sultanate, among them were those who governed as deputies in the Egyptian homelands and the Syrian realms, the Islamic fortresses, and among them were those who combined being a minister (*wizāra*) with being emir.

We will now enumerate the prominent among them.

1. Emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, deputy sultan [Egypt]
2. Emir Zayn al-Dīn Kitbughā, deputy sultan, then Sultan
3. Emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn, *al-ṣilāḥdār* (sword-bearer), deputy sultan in the Syrian realms, then Sultan
4. Emir Shams al-Dīn Qarāsunqur *al-jūkandār* (batman), deputy sultan in the Aleppan realm, then Egypt
5. Emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī, deputy sultan in the fortresses, then Aleppo

<sup>8</sup> Or al-Tīr, see al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭāt*, ii, pp. 208; in other sources the Straw (*tibn*) Mosque.

<sup>9</sup> Reading *jasīm* for *ḥasama*.

6. Emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar Shujā`ī, minister for the Egyptian homelands, then deputy in the Syrian lands
7. Emir Badr al-Dīn Baydarā, minister, then deputy sultan, Sultan for one day
8. Emir Sayf al-Dīn Salār, majordomo, then deputy sultan
9. Emir Shams al-Dīn Kartiyya, deputy sultan in the coastlands, Gaza and the Egyptian homelands
10. Emir `Izz al-Dīn Aybak *al-khazindār* (treasurer), deputy sultan in the fortresses, then in the Egyptian homelands [89]
11. Emir Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī, deputy sultan in Ḥimş and its districts
12. Emir Sayf al-Dīn Qifjāq [Qipchaq], deputy sultan in the Syrian realm
13. Emir `Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Mawşilī, deputy of the Safedan lands
14. Emir Badr al-Dīn Bīlik *al-ṭayyār* (the flyer), deputy sultan in the Safedan lands
15. Emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar Arjawāsh, deputy of protected Damascus citadel
16. Emir Jamāl al-Dīn Aqush al-Ashrafī, deputy sultan in Kerak
17. Emir Sayf al-Dīn Qajqār, deputy sultan in the Safedan lands
18. Emir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān *al-jūkandār*, deputy sultan in the Safedan lands
19. Emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Mişrī, deputy sultan in Ḥimş
20. Emir Sayf al-Dīn Tuğhrīl, deputy sultan in Safed

As for those mamluks who ruled, but were bought after his sultanate, with the different regimes advancing them after the end of his regime, these led the armies, commanded thousands, and guarded the Maṣşūrī house, and stayed in close proximity to it. They are:

1. Emir Rukn al-Dīn *al-jūkandār*, the majordomo of *al-`aliyya*, then Sultan
2. Emir Sayf al-Dīn Baktimur *al-jūkandār*, leader of 100 horsemen, then commander of 1000
3. Emir Sayf al-Dīn Karāy (Giray) *al-şilāhdār*, deputy sultan in Safed
4. Emir Sayf al-Dīn Barlaghī, commander of 100 and the vanguard
5. Emir Jamāl al-Dīn Aqush *al-afam*, deputy sultan in Damascus
6. Emir Sayf al-Dīn Asandimur,<sup>10</sup> deputy sultan in conquered territories
7. Emir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭuğhjī, commander of 100, and deputy sultan
8. Emir `Izz al-Dīn Aydimur Ṭuqtāy, commander of 100
9. Emir Fakhr al-Dīn Ayyāz al-Maṣşūrī, deputy for Qal`at al-Muslimīn<sup>11</sup>
10. Emir Sayf al-Dīn Baktimur al-Abūbakrī, commander and vanguard [90]
11. Emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqurjāh,<sup>12</sup> commander and vanguard

<sup>10</sup> Following Mazor's vocalization.

<sup>11</sup> Name of Qal`at al-Rūm after its conquest by al-Ashraf.

<sup>12</sup> Vocalized as Sunqurshāh in al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, xv, p. 302. He is said to have hunted the Arsūf thicket and killed 15 lions.

12. Emir `Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Baghdādī, minister in the Egyptian homelands
13. Emir Sayf al-Dīn Bakhtāş, deputy sultan in Safed
14. Emir Sayf al-Dīn Tughrīl al-Ayghānī, deputy sultan in the conquered territories
15. Emir Sayf al-Dīn Qatulwabak, deputy sultan in the conquered territories
16. Emir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭūghān, deputy sultan in al-Bīra

We have only described the most famous, having passed over many, because the royal mamluks of the previously mentioned [Qalāwūn] were well over 6000 in number. If we mentioned those who rose to the rank of emir in the Egyptian and Syrian homelands, and those who governed every Islamic land, we would go on so long as to be tedious to the listener, filling the ears. We have then confined ourselves to the ones of renown and elevation, and those famous and well known among the common people. [91]

**Al-Malik al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn Khalīl,  
son of the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr, Sayf al-Dīn,  
Qalāwūn al-Şāliḥī**

His sitting [upon the throne] after the death of his father was on Sunday 7 Dhū al-Qa`da year 689 [November 11, 1290].

He seized the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭuruntāy, the deputy, because he had been responsible for giving him counsel, and had expended his energy in protecting him, but there was between him and the emir Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Shujā`ī a great hatred (*iḥan*), and a long-standing grudge. So, too, with the emir Badr al-Dīn Baydarā, and some of the personal guard (*khāsakiyya*), because he [Ṭuruntāy] would treat them harshly, and prevent them from doing anything wrong, so they made the Sultan imagine things about him.

They suggested that he lay hands upon him, so he did, eight days after the death of his father. His possessions were taken, and carried to the Sultan's treasury, and all his mamluks, horsemen and land-produce were looted. This was a huge amount, which could not be counted. The emir Badr al-Dīn Baydarā was appointed to his position of deputy [Sultan].

He [al-Ashraf] ordered the armies to proceed to raid Acre, and his departure was during the first months of the year 689 [=690, February to March 1291]. His order preceded him to the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn al-Manşūrī, the deputy in Syria, that he present himself, accompanied by the Syrian armies, together with the war implements, mangonels and other things that he would need.

He summoned the deputies from Safed, the conquered territories and the rest of the (four) corners, and camped up against Acre. The Franks took preparations: mustering and gathering [troops]. Help and aid flowed in to them from the deep sea, and they placed mangonels, strengthened the walls, and gathered the Templars and Hospitallers.

Arrival at it [Acre] was on 4 Rabī' al-Awwal [March 7, 1291]. The Franks seemed unconcerned about the large number they saw; indeed its gates remained open for the duration [92] of the siege, and were not closed either night or day. They began to sortie outside the walls and fight.

The Sultan arranged the armies for a rush (*zahf*), and the mangonels cast, but did not seem to have any effect. Those who cast did not seem to deter either arrow or stone. The situation continued like that until one of its towers was struck, and we found the way to the port-city's barrier and [over] the moats, until it became a path for both horsemen and foot.

The Franks assembled both their horse and foot, and streamed out from everyplace, collecting massively on the walls. Then we fought them gallantly, and a number which cannot be counted were killed from both parties. Swords were used freely on the Franks, while the youths were imprisoned, and the horsemen started forward. It was an amazing conquest! The duration of the siege was over 40 days, and the number taken prisoner from its people was 3000. As for the killed, they were beyond counting.

God conquered after Acre, Tyre, 'Athlīth, Beirut, Sidon, and Haifā at the hand of the Sultan. The people of those lands proceeded to Cyprus as a result of this situation, and God was sufficient for the believers in fighting. The Sultan ordered the castles to be razed, and they were, so what was present was no more.

The Sultan then went to Qal'at al-Rūm with a powerful commotion, and an army to terrify the polytheists, and he gathered the Syrian and Aleppan armies. His encampment against it was on Tuesday [8] of Jumādā al-Ākhira year 691 [May 27, 1292], and he exerted effort and was very serious in besieging it.

He prepared an uncountable number of war implements and mangonels, and we stayed there 20 days straight. During this a band from the Tatar army arrived on the eastern bank of the Euphrates [River]. When the scouts came informing of their arrival, the Sultan dispatched the emir Badr al-Dīn, *amīr silāh*, as a commander, with a number of the emirs.

The author says: We proceeded to the side of Shumaysāt [Samosata] double time, and we hastened [93] to it, linking earth with earth, so we crossed the Euphrates, while the Tatars were aware of our coming to them, and our attack against them. They retreated before [our] coming near to them, and we saw nothing but their tracks, and the remains of their fires. We returned to al-Bīra, and then from it to Qal'at al-Rūm, so its siege continued until it was taken Friday 17 Rajab year 691 [July 4, 1292].

The Catholicos was expelled from it, together with those with him, and the Sultan assigned the emir 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Shujā'ī to occupy it. He ordered that it not be called Qal'at al-Rūm any further, but Qal'at al-Muslimīn al-Ashrafiyya, and it was settled by a number of the Islamic mamluks.

During the year 692 [1292–3] the Sultan learned that the Bedouin to the southeast [of Cairo] had involved themselves in vandalism, had committed

brigandage, killing several of the trustees (*wukalā'*), and abandoned their obligations. He intended to go up to that area, which was during spring at the time of the hunting season, and so he ordered the preparation of the hunting birds (*jawāriḥ*), and the dispatch of those close emirs and others he had chosen to accompany him.

It was said to him that there was a raging plague in that area, but that did not deter him from going towards it. His minister of state, Shams al-Dīn Ibn Sal'ūs, preceded him. This minister had been a clothing-merchant (*bazzāz*) in Damascus previously, and then became a merchant going back and forth to the Egyptian homelands. He had been appointed over the affairs of al-Malik al-Ashraf in Damascus during his father's lifetime, and then had been transferred to be inspector over his Chancellery, and his doorkeeper.

But then he became haughty and foolish, and began to demonstrate evil-companionship, and narrowness of character. He turned his attentions to some of the *iqṭā'* fiefs, and treated them as if they were properties to be bought and sold. Numerous complaints were registered about him from the army districts, and those enjoying *iqṭā'* fiefs in those lands. For this reason the martyr Sultan [Qalāwūn] disapproved of his son, as did the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, and removed him [Ibn Sal'ūs] from the service of al-Malik al-Ashraf, desiring to drive a wedge between them. Therefore, he fled and proceeded to the noble Ḥijāz.

It was said that he wrote him a letter, with his own handwriting, between the lines, "O reddy (*shuqayr*), O face of goodness! Make haste so that the ministership of the Egyptian and Syrian homelands can be handed over to you." He delegated to him the ministership, and his position became powerful close to him [the Sultan], and he was raised above [94] the emirs. He was given that which no other minister was given, but there was enmity between him and the emir Badr al-Dīn Baydarā, so he intended to oppose him and to backbite him to the Sultan.

When Ibn Sal'ūs the minister proceeded before the Sultan to prepare the arrangements, and to obtain the necessary funds, he could not find within the sultanic revenues or the Chancellery workings sufficient funds that were needed for the official business, and the arrangements that would proceed from them.

He found that the emir Badr al-Dīn Baydarā had much of the revenues, the wealth and the produce from every region, so he went with that to the Sultan, saying these words. That irritated him [al-Ashraf] and his heart was filled with anger at the latter. The Sultan rebuked Baydarā and cursed him, beginning sometimes to show his disapproval, but at other times to conceal it.

Baydarā had set up a spy network to watch him, and assigned people from his personal guard (*khāsakiyya*) to listen to what the Sultan was saying about him, and they would inform him of everything the Sultan would mouth or

answer about him. The Sultan was not around Baydarā at this point because of a sickness that plagued him, so when the Sultan returned from this small journey Baydarā prepared for him a huge welcome. He gave him valuable gifts among which was a silk tent, with a surrounding band of gold silk-brocade (*washī*), and its tent-ropes from colored silk (*ibrīsam*), its internal supports (pillars) of red sandal-wood plated with silver, trimmed with gold.

This tent was pitched in al-ʿAdawiyya facing protected old Cairo on the banks of the Nile. The Sultan descended to it, but did not take notice of it, nor the gifts he had presented because of the (dislike) with which the minister had filled him, and this came to his attention. The Sultan’s change was apparent to Baydarā, and so he kept it private, but conspired with his personal guard to kill him.

The Sultan upon his return from Upper Egypt had arrested the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar*, and put him to death, arrested the emir Rukn al-Dīn Ṭaqṣū, and also put him to death, then arrested the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn, but left him in prison. He sent to him [95] to have him strangled in a pit with a bow-string, but when he was strangled he turned so white that they thought he was dead, so they got rid of him.

However, God gave him a lease on life, and Badr al-Dīn Baydarā interceded on his behalf, so his request [for clemency] was granted, and he was presented before him [al-Ashraf] in the midst of the senior and junior emirs. He handed him over to Baydarā, saying, “Take this one, he will be a mamluk of yours, and make him grow up.” However, the latter was more senior than Baydarā in status, so that statement left a negative impression upon him, and they all conspired together [against al-Ashraf].

During 3 Muḥarram year 693 [December 4, 1293] he [al-Ashraf] departed hunting, so when he arrived at Tarūjah, he gave the emirs permission to proceed in different directions, and to disperse themselves to their fiefs. The previously mentioned minister had gone on to Alexandria in order to prepare places to stay (*iqāmāt*), and to obtain fabrics, manufactured items, and possessions that would be needed for the proper generosity and bestowal of land.

His letters arrived from there saying that there were no possessions or fabrics in the border port as a result of Baydarā’s deputies having taken over the merchant-shops and manufacturing. Therefore, the Sultan’s anger intensified, and he summoned Baydarā into his presence, and insulted him violently.

When he left from before him, he knew that he had hurt him, so he wanted to make it up to him, so sent him 1000 dinars. However, this gift did not reach him, and he did not comprehend that the mistake was in the past. Baydarā conspired with the emirs who were around him, and the group that listened to him.

On the morrow of that day, the Sultan rose to hunt with a small number of the younger mamluks of the personal guard to whom he was partial, and

whom he liked.<sup>13</sup> The opportunity presented itself to Baydarā, so he rode, and of the emirs, Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn, Shams al-Dīn Aqsunqur al-Manṣūrī—who the Sultan had removed from the deputyship of the Aleppan realm—emir Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur, the head of the guard, Aḷīnbughā, head of the guard, Nogai *al-silahdār* (sword-bearer), Aqsunqur al-Ḥusāmī, Muḥammad Khawāja and others, rode with him.

They proceeded to the side where the Sultan had gone as they were hunting, and they had no other goal, and then caught up with them. When he saw them [96] he realized [what they were going to do] and stopped. They fell on him like lions, and pounced on him like black snakes. Baydarā made haste<sup>14</sup> to strike, but the Sultan repelled it with the cord attached to his kettledrum (*tabl bāz*), then cut his ear with a clean wound. Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn al-Manṣūrī advanced, striking him with a blow that cut his shoulder, and his shoulder-bag, and al-Nāq al-Manṣūrī pierced him with his sword in the middle, so he quickly fell. His murder was on 13 Muḥarram of the year 693 [December 14, 1293].

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<sup>13</sup> Al-Ashraf's personal mamluks are not listed, but note one of them in the inscription at `Aqir (central Israel): Rukn al-Dīn Baybars *al-silahdār*, see Moshe Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997, vol. 1 (A). pp. 108–9.

<sup>14</sup> A pun on his name.

## GLOSSARY

- afram** toothless.
- amīr/emir** one who has command over a set number of troops
- amīr jāndār** commander of the guard.
- amīr silāh** armorer, in charge of the weaponry.
- ashqar** ruddy, most probably referring to Central Asian complexion.
- atābak/atabeg** an emeritus commander of the army, an elder figure who frequently served as regent, mentor or patron.
- a`sar=aysar** left-handed (also unlucky).
- basmla** the formula “There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is God’s Messenger,” which precedes any action or writing that a Muslim does.
- bayn al-qaṣrayn** “between the two palaces” a location in Cairo.
- bunduq/dār** probably in charge of crossbows and heavy weaponry.<sup>1</sup>
- dawla** period, dynasty, rule.
- dihlīz** lit. a vestibule, but used for the royal tent when the Sultan was traveling.
- firmān** a royal edict.
- ghulām/ghilmān** lit. youths, but used for young or junior soldiers, and for male slaves.
- al-ḥājj** one who has performed the mandated Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca.
- ḥalqa** freeborn troops (as opposed to mamluks).
- ḥarbdār** presumably in charge of spears.
- hijra** the immigration of Muḥammad and the Muslims from Mecca to Medina, the starting point for the Muslim (lunar) calendar.
- Ilchiyya** Mongol ambassadors.
- iqṭā`** fiefs given out on a temporary basis.
- jāndār** the guard.
- jāshnakīr** the taster.
- jeter** the royal umbrella shading Mongol dignitaries.
- jūkandār** batman for the popular game, similar to polo.
- khāṣakiyya** the personal guard of an emir.

<sup>1</sup> See Nicholle, glossary; also al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, v, 431, vii, 142.



## GLOSSARY

- al-khayyāt** the tailor.
- khazindār** the treasurer.
- mafārīda** uncertain, perhaps the single volunteers in the Mamluk army.
- maḥmal** the camel-borne palanquin that was the center of the pilgrimage journey.
- mamlūk/mamālīk** lit. owned; military slaves from a range of ethnicities, but usually during the thirteenth century from Central Asia.
- mihmandār** in charge of hospitality.
- naqīb** a title below that of deputy or governor.
- qarāghūl** the road guard.
- quriltāy** the Mongol general council.
- sāqī** cup bearer.
- shadd al-dawāwīn** Chancelleries Supervisor, in charge of the finances.
- silāḥdār** armor-bearer.
- sūra** a chapter of the Qur'ān.
- tamaghāt** the red seals that verified a Mongol official document.
- ṭawīl** tall.
- tawqī`** a rescript.
- al-ṭayyār** the flyer (it is not clear why Badr al-Dīn Bīlīk acquired this nickname).
- zardkāsh** armory engineer.

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Emirs' names are arranged according to their honorific, as this element of their name is the one that is the most consistently given in the sources. In a number of cases it is not known what their personal names were, and some names with the same honorifics whose personal names are unknown may overlap. Checking other sources such as al-Şafadī and al-Maqrīzī has clarified some ambiguities, but others remain, and some names can be vocalized in several different ways. Ruling monarchs have been placed in **bold** to highlight their significance, as sometimes the name under which they are listed is not the one by which they were popularly known. Thanks to Sabariah Hussin for her assistance with this index.

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